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SPECIAL ISSUE

Ukraine and Russia—Going It Alone?

NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr.

In Search of ANTI-SEMITISM

What Christians Provoke What Jews?
Why? By Doing What?
—And Vice Versa

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NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 30, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 24

A Note to Our Readers

WILLIAM BUCKLEY is no fool, but as so often before, he is strolling in where angels fear to tread. In the essay beginning on page 20 he tackles the topic of anti-Semitism at its most combustible. His essay is not a history of anti-Semitism, nor a social-psychological definition of anti-Semitism, nor a survey of anti-Semitism in the world today (although he reflects on some of these matters in a final chapter). An entire language has been invented by social science so that such questions can be discussed in the most obscure possible manner. Instead he examines how anti-Semitism is treated when it appears, or is alleged to appear, in the limited but influential milieu in which he happens to live—opinion magazines, op-ed pages, syndicated columns, television talk shows. And because Mr. Buckley is incapable of being dull, he has written an essay that treats a recalcitrant subject with some wit as well as perception.

When I saw the first draft, my immediate reaction was that it was a "great read." But it was also about ten times as long as the average cover story in NATIONAL REVIEW. While I reread it to select the best passages for publication, I sent it to my senior colleagues for their comments. We reached the same conclusion: It was not an easy book to excerpt. Either one cut whole chapters and incidents, inviting charges of selective coverage and partiality; or one cut evenly throughout—which would risk distorting what are often finely balanced conclusions and a complicated message. The upshot was that the senior editors and the publisher unanimously agreed to publish the entire essay in a special issue of the magazine, and later to republish it—along with responses from those mentioned in the text—as a NATIONAL REVIEW book.

There was also a more public-spirited motive at work. On a number of occasions since its foundation, NATIONAL REVIEW has quietly played the role of conscience of the Right. As Mr. Buckley parenthetically records, this magazine pushed both the cranks of the John Birch Society and the anti-Semites associated with *The American Mercury* (in its decline) from the ranks of respectable conservatism. At the time I received Mr. Buckley's manuscript, however, we had not dealt in anything like detail with the recent and highly publicized allegations of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism often inspires both hasty judgments and harsh condemnations, and therefore entails the possibility of injustice to individuals. Before pronouncing, we wanted to be sure on two counts. Was there something real and substantial beneath the allegations? And if there was, was it a serious sin deserving ex-communication, an error inviting a paternal reproof, or something of both?

Mr. Buckley seeks to answer these questions in his essay. And since much of his criticism is devoted to writers who appear in our pages or who are associated with conservative causes dear to the magazine's heart, some personal interest is added to the innate fascination of the subject matter. One might stretch a simile and say that it is rather like recognizing your next-door neighbors in a pornographic film.

But one oddity strikes the reader very soon into the argument. Except for the episode of Gore Vidal and *The Nation*, all the instances of alleged anti-Semitism examined here—and the adjective "alleged" should be understood to accompany the noun "anti-Semitism" for the rest of this editorial note—are cases of anti-Semitism among conservatives. The suspects are Joseph Sobran, Patrick J. Buchanan, and *The Dartmouth Review*. And this is not because Mr. Buckley has unreasonably decided to concentrate on conservative sins and charitably minimize liberal vices. The controversies he examines, in effect, selected themselves. These are the four cases that aroused a general brouhaha in the world of intellectual debate. Other expressions of anti-Semitism might have done so; these actually did.

MY REASON for calling this an oddity is that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is now found only rarely on the respectable Right. Indeed, those conservative groups in the United States traditionally suspected of harboring anti-Semitic opinions (e.g., rural fundamentalists) have consciously abandoned such prejudice and embraced a thoroughgoing philo-Semitism, based in some cases on Biblical prophecies about Israel's role in Armageddon and in others on repentance for what is seen as Christian complicity in the Holocaust. It is remarkable that two of the strongest supporters of Israel in America today are the Reverend Jerry Falwell, for mainly religious reasons, and Senator Jesse Helms, for mainly strategic ones. Their forebears, both

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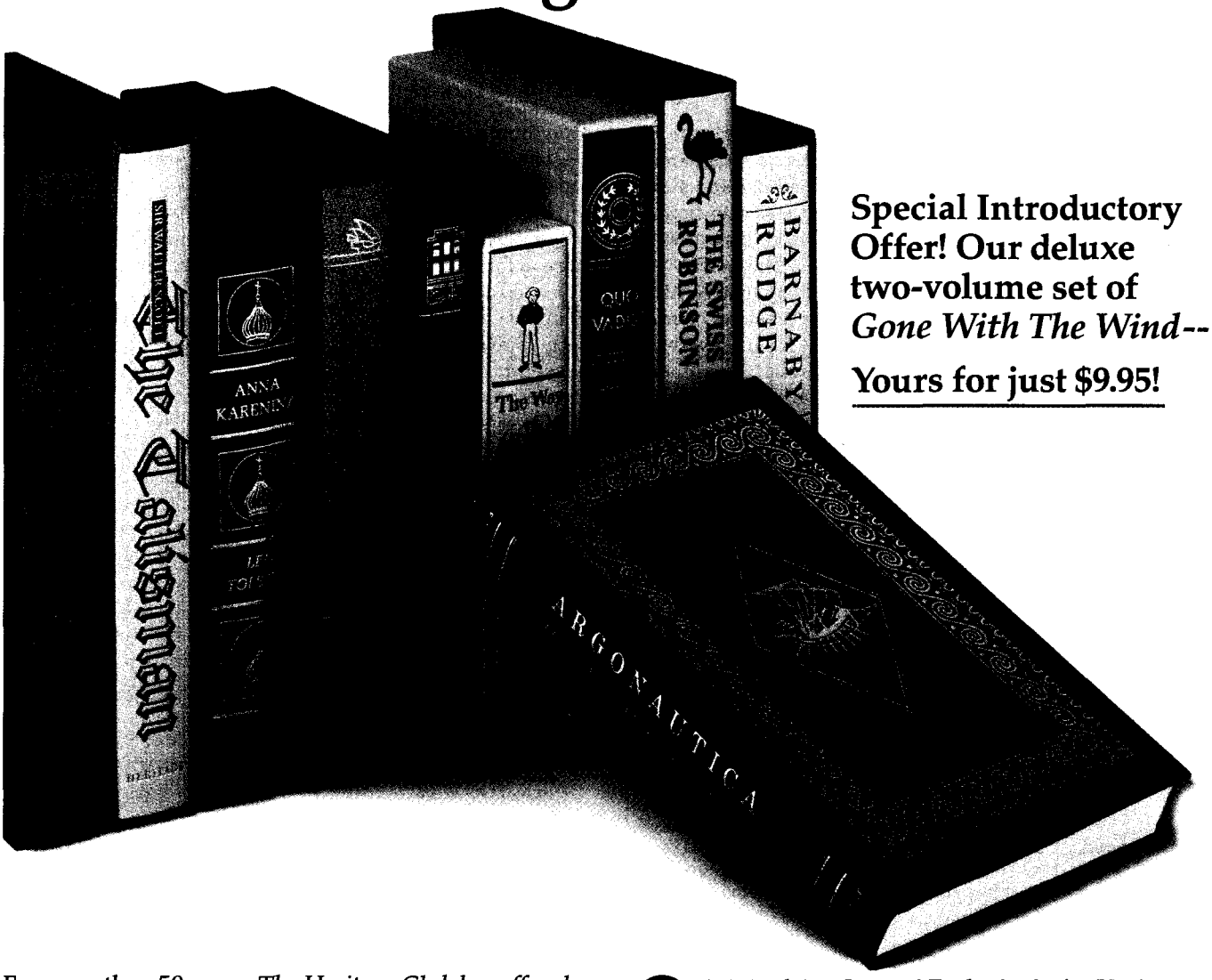

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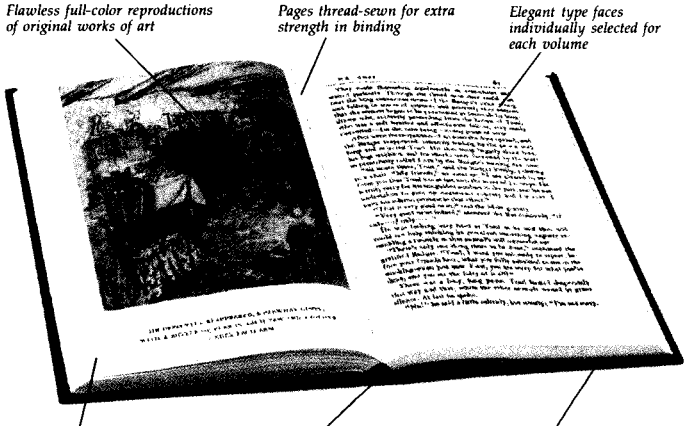
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ideological and genetic, in the 1930s and before would very likely have been suspicious or even hostile toward the Jews they seldom if ever actually met.

When anti-Semitism appears today outside the restricted confines of the country club (which is seen as right wing by the Left and as "establishment" by the Right), it is almost invariably a left-wing phenomenon. Mr. Buckley's chapter on *The Nation* and Gore Vidal deals with one variant of this. But there is also the anti-Semitism of radical black consciousness as exhibited by Professor Leonard Jeffries and the Reverend Al Sharpton; the anti-Semitism of radical Arab or Palestinian nationalism (yes, I realize that the Arabs are themselves Semites); and the anti-Semitism which blends the two in a rainbow coalition of radical leftism and Third Worldery as exhibited by the Reverend Louis Farrakhan and, on occasion, by the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

What is disturbing about these varieties of anti-Semitism is the spread of their appeal. They enjoy the complicity of tenured opinion in the university, the nervous tolerance of big-city politicians, the collusion of respectable black organizations, and the willingness of the establishment media to report such matters in a context of social excuses (the tabloids are significantly more critical). At the same time they arouse the enthusiasm of thugs in the street and help to recruit young people for terrorist training camps. Today it is the anti-Semitism of the Left that, in its extreme and revolutionary forms, actually leads to the killing of Jews, whether in Jerusalem, Paris, or Crown Heights.

Yet it receives much less criticism from the surrounding culture than do expressions of anti-Semitism from conservatives. And when it does arouse indignation, that indignation is very easily appeased. For instance, it was considered poor form to remind voters in New York's last presidential primary that Jesse Jackson had once referred to the city as "Hymietown." Mayor Koch was himself criticized for being "divisive" when he did so.

One of the most striking illustrations of this public mood is that, until very recently, the institutions of organized anti-anti-Semitism have been somewhat diffident in tackling black or left-wing anti-Semitism. This is humanly understandable. Older leaders of such organizations remember only too well when anti-Semitism of the most horrifying kind was overwhelmingly a crime of the Right. The organizations are themselves part of a society which, until the collapse of Communism, was generally inclined to interpret the Left's sins in the light of its professed humanitarianism, and the sins of racial minorities in the light of past injustices done to them. Finally, the leaders of such organizations have generally emerged, or not emerged, from the Left, misdirected there (as it seems to me) by the liberal Jewish conscience. And we are all inclined to be tender to the lapses of our friends—well, not all perhaps, as Mr. Buckley's dispassionate examination of Mr. Sobran's and Mr. Buchanan's lapses will demonstrate.

IF IT IS humanly understandable that critics of anti-Semitism should be harder on the Right than on the Left, however, it is no less understandable that conservatives so criticized should feel themselves unfairly treated. And one thing that indisputably emerges from Mr. Buckley's careful account is the genuine sense of outrage that Mr. Sobran and Mr. Buchanan feel toward the charges leveled against them. (The case of *The Dartmouth Review* raises quite different questions since the newspaper's editor and staffers convincingly deny not that a Hitler quote was anti-Semitic, but that they put it in the newspaper in the first place.) Moreover, their friends—some of them Jewish—share this sense of outrage. Robert Novak, for instance, wrote in reply to David Frum's attack in *The American Spectator* that "Buchanan is no anti-Semite, as anybody who knows him well will avow."

It would be pleasant for conservatives if we could at his point conclude that the attacks on Messrs. Sobran and Buchanan were simply a case of liberal opinion and organized anti-anti-Semitism overreacting to a mere suspicion of conservative prejudice in order to balance their criticism of the much more blatant anti-Semitism on the other side of the spectrum—and leave it there. But that option is not available to us. Mr. Buckley establishes that, in a few instances of their writings, there is at least a case to answer.

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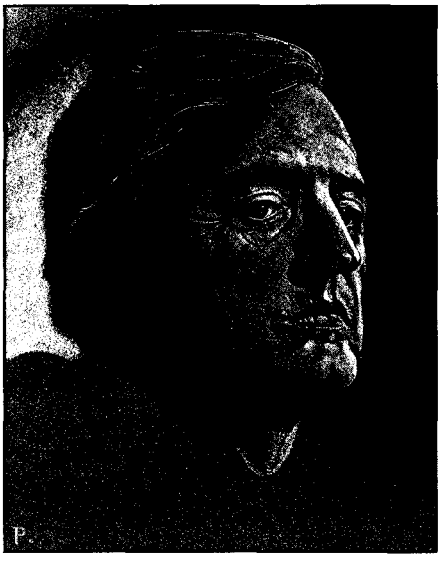
I will not here anticipate the verdicts he reaches. That would risk both oversimplifying a subtle argument and spoiling the reader's suspense. But without prejudice to the cases under discussion, as the lawyers say, it is worth asking how we should weigh a few instances of suspected anti-Semitism in a writer's large output. What if he can point also to philo-Semitic writings? Or what if he can cite the testimony of friends as to his personal decency in the matter? What, in particular, if those friends are Jewish? The claim "Some of my best friends are Jews" is often derided as the classic excuse of the social anti-Semite. But that is apt only if the excuse is manifestly insincere. If his best friends really are Jews, then either his Jewish friends are extremely odd or he is not an anti-Semite.

Norman Podhoretz is quoted later in these pages as saying, in effect, that only God can know the secrets of the human heart. That is so, but we may reasonably speculate all the same. There are several possible reasons why a man might give vent to anti-Semitic remarks. He might, of course, be an anti-Semite. One should never neglect the obvious. Or he might make anti-Semitic remarks in the heat of an argument in order to deliberately wound a Jewish adversary. That would show an unpleasant character; it would demonstrate his grasp of the anti-Semitic vocabulary; and, other things being equal, it would create a reasonable supposition of anti-Semitism. But it would not in the end convict him of a general anti-Semitism, any more than the arguments of most wives in domestic rows would convict them of a general hostility to husbands. A third possibility is that because of the exaggerations of a polemical writing style, he might take criticism of Israel, or of American supporters of Israel, over that invisible line separating legitimate anti-Zionism from culpable anti-Semitism. (In that case, he would be the more vulnerable to misunderstanding because much anti-Zionism is in fact a disguised form of anti-Semitism.)

This third possibility is my own explanation of how both Mr. Sobran and Mr. Buchanan first began to be suspected of harboring anti-Semitic feelings. In effect, both men were denounced in severe terms for first or uncertain offenses. They then reacted characteristically. Mr. Sobran, unable to believe that anyone could sincerely think him seriously ill-natured, declared himself the victim of political persecution and froze in a posture of heroic defiance. Since the defiance is of Jewish pressure, it produces effects that are sometimes hard to distinguish from anti-Semitism, as Mr. Buckley reluctantly documents. Mr. Buchanan, displaying that instinctive pugnacity he has put to excellent use on a thousand other occasions, delivered a column straight to the jaw of



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his first major critic, A. M. Rosenthal, and "moved on" unapologetically, refusing to reply to later attacks.

Their divorce from old friends and allies is the more bitter because although at least some of the charges against them have at least some substance, others are simply false. For instance, Mr. Buchanan's defense of John Demjanjuk against the charge of being the concentration-camp guard "Ivan the Terrible" was courageous and looks as if it may be vindicated. It is his critics who, having detected in this defense a wish to downplay the Holocaust, may now find themselves in the morally uncomfortable position of having endorsed a show trial. If so, one of the props of the case against Mr. Buchanan will have fallen, and he is bound to feel, humanly if not wholly logically, that this undermines the entire edifice.

It cannot be in anyone's interest to drive people into anti-Semitism by accusing them of it peremptorily. A recognition that there are faults on both sides might facilitate a truce if the two men and their critics still kept up diplomatic contacts. But it is my impression that they face each other across a deep canyon of silence over which all the bridges have been cut on both banks. This mutual alienation grows deeper every day it is not healed. And Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Sobran become natural prey to the overtures of dubious friends peddling dubious comforts. That is where matters rest at the beginning of Mr. Buckley's essay.

From all this I draw the general conclusion that if the venial sins of the Right are, first, equated with serious left-wing offenses and, then, punished even more severely, they are likely to become mortal. Mortal sins, mortal wounds, perhaps both. If so, the result will be needless bitterness, broken friendships, a harsher tone in conservative debate, and the waste of some remarkable talents.

To avoid these evils, a simple effort of imagination and charity is required. Mr. Sobran, Mr. Buchanan, and their critics, particularly their conservative critics, need to see themselves as others see them. They need, in other words, to read Mr. Buckley's essay—and then to dial some telephone numbers that they have not dialed for some time.

For our society, the wider issue is to lift the standards of public debate so that certain habits of mind and discussion can have no place on either Left or Right. We need a greater sensitivity—not in the corrupt sense of the word that justifies censorship and thought control, but precisely to allow honest discussion of the most delicate topics.

For conservatives in particular—as Mr. Buckley argues, citing Irving Kristol—the issue may be to remind us all of the nurturing power of religion in our lives at a time when it is increasingly under pressure from the secular Left. And that is an issue on which Jews and Christians are the most natural of allies.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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Cover design by Andrew Newman

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FOR THE RECORD

■ 1991 is, indeed, a year that was. A year ago, Desert Storm had yet to be fought and won, a dozen Western hostages remained chained to walls in Lebanese cells. No one would have dreamed South Africa would be invited to participate in the 1992 Olympics. **Jonas Savimbi** was still fighting a bush war in Angola, and Col. **Mengistu Haile Mariam** rode high in Ethiopia. . . . On August 23, **Robert Conquest**, the great cataloguer of **Stalin**'s villainies, said of August 19, 20, and 21, 1991: "These three August days will probably be seen as a turning point in world history." . . . By year's end, the three Slavic states (Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia) had formed a new Commonwealth; Kazakhstan was the only one of the 15 Soviet Socialist Republics not to have declared its independence. . . . The media and its liberal allies engaged in instant revisionism—to deny **Ronald Reagan**'s pivotal role in winning the cold war. **Strobe Talbott**, editor-at-large for *Time* magazine, rebutting **Charles Krauthammer**'s insistence that Reagan and conservatives had caused Communism's collapse, told *Inside Washington* viewers: "Even if **Jimmy Carter** had been re-elected and been followed by **Walter Mondale**, something like what we have now seen probably would have happened." But then Talbott was in a bind, condemned, as he is, to live down his fulsome eulogy proclaiming **Mikhail Gorbachev** *Time*'s Man of the Decade. . . . In backwaters of Nicaragua they know better. Villagers of Los Gorreadores have rechristened their town "Ronald Reagan" because "he helped us a lot. Because of him the nation lives in democracy." . . . And **Vladimir Pozner**, no longer a regular on *Nightline* and other In talk shows, is having trouble explaining away his earlier description of **Solzhenitsyn**, **Bukovsky**, and **Scharansky** as "traitors" with whom he would not even "share the same bathroom."

■ 1991 was a bummer for environmental gloom'n'doomsayers. **David Klein**, environmentalist and expert on Alaskan caribou, reports that caribou herds in Alaska's Prudhoe Bay have increased from 3,000 to 18,000 in the twenty years since oil exploration started in the area. . . . The **Council of Economic Advisors** points out that while there has been an attrition in the number of airlines since deregulation, air travelers have saved an estimated $100 billion in cheaper fares since 1978. . . . It may come as a surprise, but a recent **Gallup** sounding indicates four out of five of the 87 per cent of Americans covered by health insurance are very satisfied with their coverage. . . . The experts were way off base on those flaming Kuwaiti oil wells. The initial estimate was that $43 billion worth of oil would be lost. In fact only $12 billion was lost. But then the alarmists said it would take years to tamp down the flames, not months. The operation was completed less than six months after General **Schwarzkopf**'s tanks rolled over what the anti–Desert Storm press had portrayed as **Saddam**'s unbeatable Republican Guard. . . . **Carl Sagan** painted a dismal picture of agricultural devastation from the black clouds of burning oil obscuring the sun. He told **Mike Wallace** there might be "massive agricultural failures in the United States as a result of this." . . . 1991 was the year that *60 Minutes* got religion, coming up with a series of un-*60-Minutes*-like stories bashing liberal shibboleths: programs about employment quotas putting a small-time lampmaker out of business; about media failures to publicize an authoritative ten-year study that debunked acid-rain fears; about union (Teamster) gangsterism; about self-perpetuating government agencies—in this case the New Deal's Rural Electrification Administration, which continues lending money at low interest rates to such rural hardship cases as Hilton Head and Disney World.

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"A lot of the pageantry has gone since the defense cuts."

■ In the academy, political correctness and multiculturalism were the talk of the town. But student reaction was vigorous, as evidenced by flourishing conservative journals on campus. In the intellectually trendy Northeast, besides *The Dartmouth Review* there are: *The Amherst Spectator* (**Robert Witwer**, editor); *The Brandeisian* (**Dan Kinel**); *The Brown Spectator* (**Mike Schnall**); *The Catalyst* (Mount Holyoke, **Michelle Colitsas**); *The Cornell Review* (**Joseph Gehring Jr.**); *Eli* (Yale, **Matt Pharr**); *The Federalist Paper* (Columbia, **Eugene Kashper**); *The Fenwick Review* (Holy Cross, **Paul Scalia**); *The Galenstone* (Wellesley, **Heather MacIndoe**); *The Harvard Salient* (**Eric Reis**); *The Yale Free Press* (**David Ross**).

■ Language took a beating. Although Catholic Bishops resisted substituting "feedbox" for "manger" in a new children's Bible ("Away in the Feedbox"?), **Rosalie Maggio**'s *The Nonsexist Word Finder: A Dictionary of Gender-Free Usage*, has rejected the word "gyp" ("That's a gyp"), as insensitive to gypsies, and the phrase "Dutch treat" as invidious to the Dutch. . . . General **George Custer** lost his last battle. The Custer Battlefield National Monument has been renamed the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument. Presumably it is not the **Chief Sitting Bull** Battlefield National Monument only because "Chief" has been designated by Miss Maggio as "offensive when used generically to describe an American Indian."

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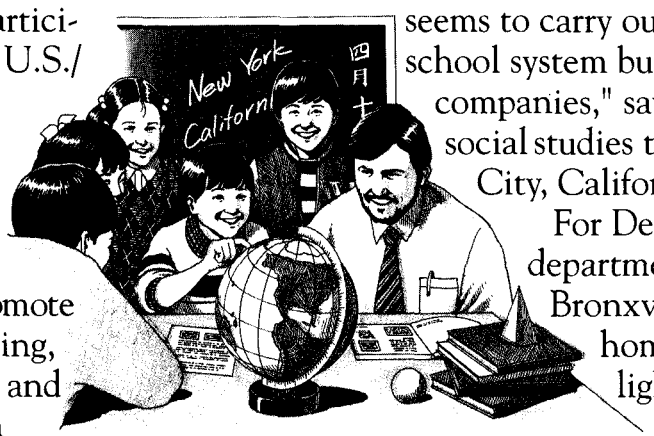
Japan and America: Where the Twain Meet

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," Kipling wrote long ago, and even today that saying sums up the feelings of many Americans and Japanese toward each other. But William Brinker, a high school social studies teacher from Farmington Hills, Michigan, disagrees. "The gulf between our cultures exists, but it can be bridged. We just have to work harder at understanding one another."

Brinker was a participant in the annual U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program sponsored by Hitachi. Now in its fourth year, this exchange helps promote mutual understanding, cultural awareness, and friendship between our societies on a personal level.



Since 1987, the program has sponsored the visits of 16 American teachers to Japan and five Japanese to the United States. Last year saw the largest exchange so far: four American and three Japanese teachers. For three weeks, they toured the sites, taught children, and lived in the homes of their hosts. For most, it was their first direct exposure to the culture they had so often taught about. Even for Brinker, who had spent time in Japan 36 years ago as a serviceman, the experience was eye-opening. "I came away with a much better understanding of the Japanese people," he says.

As teachers, the American visitors were struck by the way Japanese parents support the school system and the respect students show in the classroom. "The support and love of the family seems to carry out not only in the school system but also into their companies," says Greg Alvarado, a social studies teacher from Daly City, California.

For Delia Grogan-Selby, a department chairperson from Bronxville, New York, the home stay was a highlight of her visit. "I felt like I had parachuted into my own family, but it was Japan," she says.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program. We believe its positive impact will multiply as returning teachers share their personal experiences with students, colleagues, and friends at home.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 7515, Grand Central Station, New York, NY, 10163.

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THE WEEK

■ In choosing Sam Skinner as his new chief of staff, the President continues to steer a careful course between the Scylla of pragmatism and the Charybdis of principle.

■ Only the chief executive can know finally what is the usefulness of his chief of staff. When the chief executive is a political official he needs to measure not only his own but others' satisfaction; and the complaints against John Sununu, George Bush finally decided, outweighed Sununu's virtues. Outsiders are not in a position to judge the impact of Governor Sununu's abrasive irradiations, but it is fair to remind ourselves that one of his central responsibilities—to keep conservatives contented—was made difficult by the big capitulation of a year ago. At that time Mr. Sununu was badgering Congress to accept the new budget bill, from which conservatives inferred that he was being unfaithful to his credentials as a conservative. In fact he was probably simply executing, in his own way, the President's decision. One cannot blame John Sununu for the chaos that has caused the sharp decline in presidential prestige. Nor can conservatives measure the support the eloquent and learned Mr. Sununu gave the President on those crucial questions concerning which he has held so steady a course, specifically, a conservative judiciary, opposition to abortion, and intelligent support for that much of the military-industrial complex as brings strength to the United States.

■ Scientists at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution have come up with a solution to the problem of disposing of sewage sludge: dumping it at sea. This is exactly what we do with it now, except that we dump it on the surface, so that it blights everything it touches on the mile or two down to the ocean floor. The *New York Times* (front page, December 2) carried a report on Woods Hole's new proposal: depositing the sludge directly at its final resting place, by lowering it in leak-proof buckets attached to 16,000-foot cables. The only life forms that would be discommoded are deep-sea worms. The *Times* shows commendable scientific curiosity. Maybe it will catch up with another proposal out of Woods Hole, by sedimentologist Charles Hollister, to dispose of nuclear waste in the same fashion. By the way, the amount of nuclear waste requiring disposal would take up about 1 per cent of the volume of one supertanker (we're not talking about a lot of homeless deep-sea worms). Interested reporters should consult "On the Right," William F. Buckley Jr., June 13.

■ The nation's banking system seems stuck in its own Catch 22. On paper the Federal Government's "advance" to the FDIC—a whopping $70 billion—is to be repaid by the banks themselves, sparing the taxpayers another S&L debacle. But the higher deposit-insurance premiums that were imposed to help repay the loan have pushed many banks into insolvency, thus raising the cost of the bailout. Similarly, increased capital requirements have made banks reluctant to make loans even to well-qualified borrowers, thus worsening the recession, thus worsening the banking crisis. The past decade has shown many bankers to be somewhat less than competent at banking, yet the government is now encouraging them to engage in far riskier businesses, like insurance and securities. The latest figures show that 2,300 of the nation's 12,000 banks are losing money; at least two hundred banks are expected to fail next year. No two experts seem to agree on how to stanch the financial hemorrhage. Until we understand more, taxpayers must expect to pay more. This is perplexing, given the government's goal of making consumer spending easier, not harder. Is there a solution? Yes. What is it? We won't say it. It would insult the intelligence of NATIONAL REVIEW's readers.

■ Although the media have generally described new

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"Can you keep a secret?"

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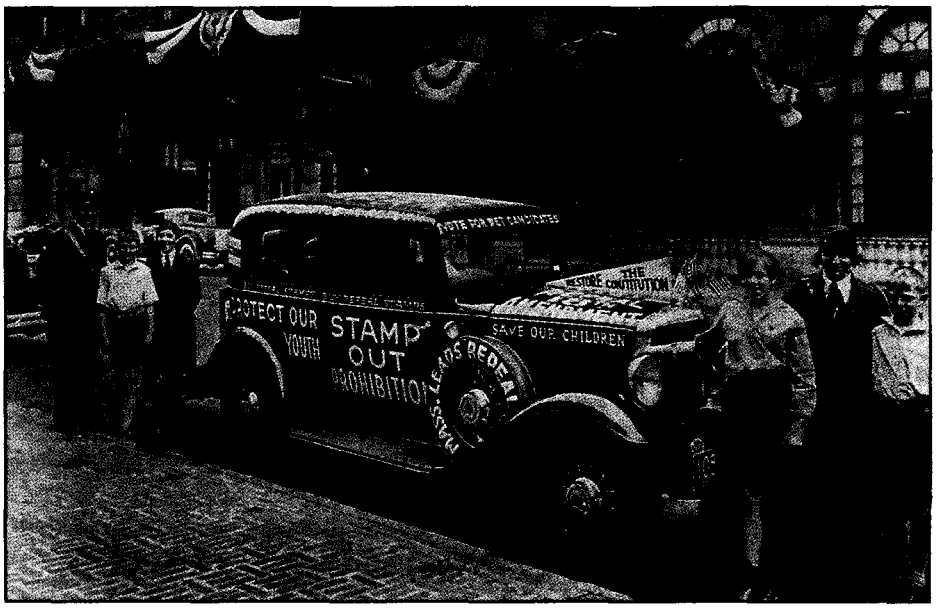
Prohibition has been tried before, but Americans called it off.

We repealed alcohol prohibition because it was a disaster. Today, we are repeating the mistake with an extremist war on drugs. The disastrous results are the same. Here are some facts most modern-day prohibitionists would rather not talk about:



"Repeal Prohibition" campaign car, Wilmington, Del., c. 1932, provided by the Hagley Museum and Library.

• **Prohibition-related crime is increasing.** As Milton Friedman pointed out recently in *The Wall Street Journal*, the homicide rate rose sharply during Prohibition in the 1920s and also during the drug wars of the 1970s and 1980s. Last year, a record 23,438 Americans were murdered, a figure fueled in part by drug-trade violence. Also, a large proportion of petty thefts and property crimes are committed by addicts who must pay high prices for their black market drugs.

• **Drug war costs are increasing.** This year's federal drug control budget is over $10 billion. The already overburdened states put up a roughly equal amount. Over a 10-year period, we have spent nearly $100 billion to combat the drug trade and to "stamp out" drug use. Prohibition is a fiscal rathole of historic dimensions.

• **Hard-core drug use has reached record levels.** So-called "casual" drug use appears to be declining, but daily cocaine use rose 15 percent — from 292,000 to 336,000 users — in 1988-1990. Emergency room mentions of cocaine went up 23 percent in that period. Yet drug treatment centers nationwide are cutting services because they are a low priority in drug war budgeting.

• **We are creating an American *gulag* for the drug war.** The United States already imprisons its citizens at a rate higher than any other industrialized nation. Indeed, we imprison our citizens at almost four times the rate of most major European democracies. For the first time in our history, over one million Americans live behind bars. Locking up another million will not make prohibition work.

• **Tons of illegal drugs are still available in the U.S.** The government admits that about 30,000 tons of marijuana, 800 tons of cocaine, and 350 tons of heroin were available in 1990. The midrange wholesale price of a kilogram of cocaine has plummeted from $52,500 in 1980 to $26,500 today. With marijuana prices on the upswing, crack is now cheaper than pot in some areas.

America has a drug problem, but it also has a *prohibition problem*, making things worse on every front.

Are you safer now after a decade of intense drug war?

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The Drug Policy Foundation is a non-profit educational organization dedicated to discussion of peaceful alternatives to the war on drugs.

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New Ways of Thinking About Drugs

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Attorney General William Barr as a "career government official," he is an example of that distinctly Washington breed of lawyers who alternate between private practice and public service. Before his nomination by President Bush, Mr. Barr, only 41, served in the Counsel's office at the CIA, in the White House Policy Office, and as assistant attorney general. Although his appointment didn't generate significant controversy (indeed, he was confirmed by voice vote), Mr. Barr is probably (apart from Jack Kemp) the most solidly conservative in the President's company. On issues such as the separation of powers and criminal justice, he has been a consistent voice for traditional constitutional values. His intellectual roots are similar to those of other young attorneys who ascended to important positions in Ed Meese's Justice Department and Ronald Reagan's White House. Under Mr. Barr's leadership, the Department is likely to continue to insist that those appointed to the federal judiciary be people acquainted with the laws and their designs.

■ As the Maastricht EC Summit convenes to take historic decisions on the future of European integration, we venture the guess that extreme federal notions will give way to a more realistic strengthening of political coordination and economic union. The United States has long supported the European endeavor as a vindication of Western economic and political principles. As long as the new EC embodies outward-looking liberal trade policies and pro-enterprise regulating practices—and as long as it reinforces Atlantic cooperation as the West's crucial political and security framework—it will continue to have our support. A report on Maastricht will appear in a subsequent issue.

■ Helmut Kohl has broken ranks by promising soon to recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Until then, the EC countries (and the U.S.) had held back, linking recognition to the achievement of a final peace settlement and fearing to accelerate the disintegration of Yugoslavia. On the merits, the chancellor is right. The Yugoslav federation is a dead duck, the discredited tool of Communist Serbia. We have no stake in it. The imperative now is to halt Serbian thuggery, and recognition (coupled with relief from the international embargo) will offer Croatia and Slovenia some protection. But Kohl's unilateralism has interesting implications beyond Yugoslavia. The Germans expect their EC partners to follow their lead. As EC leaders convene in Maastricht, they will undoubtedly ruminate on the prospect that a newly assertive Germany will either dominate the policies of a political union if it is formed, or act more swaggeringly in the world if it is not. A sobering choice.

■ As Nelson Mandela was winding up his trip to the United States, the South African Communist Party—whose central committee has many members in common with the executive committee of Mandela's ANC—held a Party congress at which a motion to attenuate the CP's connection with Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and to emphasize a commitment to Western-style democracy, was proposed, and defeated. The Party delegates also voted to launch a solidarity campaign with "heroic Cuba," as part of a larger campaign to revive "proletarian internationalism." Meanwhile, Mandela urged Western governments and the United Nations not to revoke sanctions until he gave the okay: "We appeal to you all to heed the voice of the oppressed in this matter," he said—ignoring, as he always does, the fact that other black South Africans are *urging* the West to revoke sanctions. Mandela's modus operandi is to speak as if he were the head of a guerrilla movement that had just toppled a colonial administration, rather than the leader of one (an important one, to be sure) of several political forces that are meant to be negotiating the form of a future democratic government.

■ Muammar Qaddafi's deft answer to the Anglo-American indictments of two Libyans for the terror-bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 has been to—arrest the accused, promise a trial, and renounce terrorists such as the IRA. Will this get him off the hook? Some Western governments will claim Qaddafi wasn't involved; others will see this as a signal that he has finally renounced terrorism. Extradition requests, and any case against higher-ups, will be tied up in the anfractuosities of modern international law. Neither domestic nor international courts can touch the states that have so carefully cultivated terrorism. Diplomacy, pursued perhaps by other means, is the only thing that can do that.

■ Those interested in the future of the Indochinese peninsula hold their breath as the Cambodian civil war seems to be coming to an end. It is the most fragile arrangement conceivable, with the non-Communist majority precariously weak and caught be-

It Is More Blessèd, etc.

Though giving is nice, when the cupboard is bare
And dunning from colleges gets in your hair,
While relatives covet the old woman's shoe—
Which Ma hasn't painted since '72—
A billion for Gorbachev's phantom domain
Gives Santa a migraine and Blitzen a pain.

W. H. VON DREELE

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tween two gangs of Communist thugs, the pro-Hanoi crowd and the murderous Khmer Rouge. Nonetheless, exhaustion all around has produced an agreement to let the UN supervise a free election. The deal deserves U.S. support. A sideshow to this drama, as it were, is the eagerness in some quarters to promote a grand reconciliation between Washington and Hanoi, now that Hanoi has permitted a Cambodia settlement. The thought is repellent. Looking at the dismal fate of Communist regimes around the world, we see little redeeming value in embracing this retrograde gang just when their legitimacy has so clearly evaporated and their longevity has been brought into question. The Administration is already pledged to begin an incremental series of steps toward more normal relations with Hanoi. It should hold its nose, and do the minimum.

■ A billion dollars doesn't seem like much these days, unless you're being dunned by the IRS. But

RIGHT DATA

An Economic Pearl Harbor?

THE DECEMBER 7 anniversary, coming amidst signs of economic weakness in the U.S., has renewed fears of Japan's "unstoppable economic expansion" at the expense of an America that, in the words of a recent *New York Times* op-ed piece, "cannot cope with Japanese power or fathom Japanese intentions." The author, Karel van Wolferen, warns that "believers in the wonders of 'natural' free-market forces must understand the 'unnaturalness' of the arrangements in the Japanese political economy . . ."

Mr. van Wolferen is not alone. Many erstwhile free-traders believe that efforts to lower Japan's formal import barriers are pointless: Japan's governmental–industrial complex will prevent even the most efficient foreign firm from penetrating the domestic market. The only agreements that will work under such conditions are those that manage trade—granting American manufacturers a specific share of the Japanese market, while limiting Japanese exports to this country.

But the facts don't support this view. While Japanese cars, VCRs, and camcorders are ubiquitous, in fact Japanese bought more U.S. products last year—$395 per person—than Americans bought Japanese products—$359 per person. In 1990 Japan imported $49 billion of U.S. goods—second only to Canada's $84 billion, and far ahead of our next largest market, Mexico, at $28 billion. More importantly, Japan devotes a larger share of its GNP to the purchase of imports from the U.S. (1.7 per cent) than we devote of our GNP to the purchase of imports from Japan (1.6 per cent).

Since peaking in 1987, Japan's trade surplus with the U.S. has fallen by $15.3 billion, or 27 per cent. U.S. exports to Japan grew 33.4 per cent in 1988, 18.2 per cent in 1989, and another 9.2 per cent in 1990—faster than the growth of exports to the rest of the world. Nor is it a case of Japanese buying our raw materials, and selling us the finished products. Nearly two-thirds of U.S. exports to Japan are manufactured goods—chemicals, aluminum, aircraft, scientific instruments, computers, and many other products. About half of these—30 per cent of all U.S. exports to Japan—are considered "high tech" by the Commerce Department.

By many criteria the economic interdependence has benefited the U.S. more than Japan. Some 350,000 Americans currently work for Japanese-owned companies. Some of them—Firestone and Columbia Pictures come to mind—were in serious financial trouble before the Japanese invested in them. Japanese auto companies now produce more than 1.7 million cars and trucks in the U.S. each year, many of which are exported to Japan. And the Japanese technology and management skills acquired via joint ventures with Japanese steel companies virtually rescued the U.S. industry in the early 1980s, when one-fifth of America's steel-producing capacity was in Chapter 11. Although smaller than it once was, the American steel industry is again internationally competitive.

Attempts to keep Japanese products out of the U.S. have hurt us more than they've helped. Since 1984, for example, steel-import restrictions have saved an estimated 17,000 jobs in the steel industry. But industries that use steel, like producers of farm and construction equipment, have lost 54,200 jobs as a result of the higher cost of steel, according to a study by the St. Louis–based Center for the Study of American Business. More recently, a 63 per cent tariff on Japanese computer screens forced the American-based computer manufacturers that use the component either to cease production or, in one case, to move operations to Japan.

If standard of living is the criterion by which an economic regime is judged, furthermore, Japan Inc. has not done well at all. Although Japan's per-capita GNP is slightly above our own, prices of most goods are far higher in Japan. In terms of real purchasing power, the Japanese consumer is only 60 per cent as well off as his American counterpart.

—Ed Rubenstein

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outside Washington it remains a significant amount. And it's the amount that has turned up missing from the enterprises of Robert Maxwell. The owner of more than four hundred companies and publications around the world, Maxwell seems to have improperly transferred the billion from his businesses and their pension funds in order to prop up stock prices and stave off creditors. At the time of his death, few suspected how much trouble he was really in. He seemed to be on top of the world, and he had launched libel suits against various journalists for intimating that there was a shady side to his affairs. Now the truth is coming out, and it promises to be an epic scandal: Great Britain's BCCI, with the head of it a self-proclaimed socialist. We'd have said a greedy socialist, except that only Reaganites are greedy.

■ Asked why everyone takes an instant dislike to Richard Darman, Ambassador Robert Strauss replied, "It saves time."

■ In an effort to stimulate private-sector spending, the President of the United States paid $28 out of his *own pocket* for socks and a sweatsuit at a Maryland shopping mall. The Dow soared forty points the following day.

■ Shh. Stop writing news stories every day about Governor Cuomo deciding. Stop writing editorials and columns every day about Governor Cuomo deciding. Stop doing TV and radio spots every day about Governor Cuomo deciding. He is thinking. He is thinking that members of the press will give him free publicity forever, so long as he shows himself to be decisive. He is deciding. Shh.

■ Odd how the media folk who praised Anita Hill for "raising the nation's consciousness" about a serious national problem aren't doing likewise for the Palm Beach accuser. Maybe they still don't understand that the Kennedys are a serious national problem.

God Rest You Merry

God rest you merry, gentlemen:
  Though Mr. Cuomo may
Lean this way when the tulips bloom
  And that way New Year's Day,
The red ink seeping up his socks
  Will never fade away.

Refrain
  O tidings of comfort and joy, etc.

W. H. VON DREELE

Death of an Empire

THE DISINTEGRATION of the former Soviet Empire is now an accomplished fact, as the country continues its plunge into economic disaster. Yet amid this debacle, three events have occurred that may mark the beginning of a turnaround. They are: the Russian Republic's takeover of the financial and administrative institutions of the moribund Soviet state; the Ukraine's vote for independence (and the Bush Administration's surprisingly forthright response to it); and the formation of a new voluntary commonwealth of independent republics.

With the Russian takeover of the Soviet state (its assets and, alas, its enormous debts), the loci of political power, administrative accountability, good policy sense, and democratic legitimacy have all come together, finally, for the first time. This is a precondition for future recovery, though no guarantee of it. There is a chance now to get a grip on the printing of rubles and liquidate the obstructive operations of the old apparatus. Boris Yeltsin has boldly stepped into the vacuum of leadership and seized, not really power (because that he had), but responsibility. In this endeavor, more power to him.

Someday, Russian dominance of the domains of the former Soviet Empire may well be a worry. As the inheritor of that vast economic and military potential, Russia still needs the counterweight of an American presence in Western Europe to ensure a stable balance of power on the Continent. But today's problem is different; this problem is the spread of misery and chaos that could both spill over into neighboring regions and undermine the democratic experiment that is the best hope of a decent outcome. The restoration of policy coherence and economic reform is an enterprise that warrants Western support. Yeltsin has announced a radical market reform and a timetable. *Now* these people deserve a more forthcoming response from the West, where previously all of Gorbachev's evasions and Harvard's "grand bargains" did not.

Now Ukraine.* President Bush got it right this time, letting the Ukrainians know even before the referendum on December 1 that he would welcome their independence and move toward recognition. Naturally there were squeals from Gorbachev, and even some grumbling from the Russians. But the criticism the President has received for going too fast was odd, coming from many who had deplored his tardiness in the past—in recognizing the Baltics, for example.

*We bow henceforward to the new fashion of dropping the definite article which inexplicably has become a token of solidarity with the newly independent state (inexplicably, because the Ukrainian language has no definite article in the first place). But it's the least *NR* can do.

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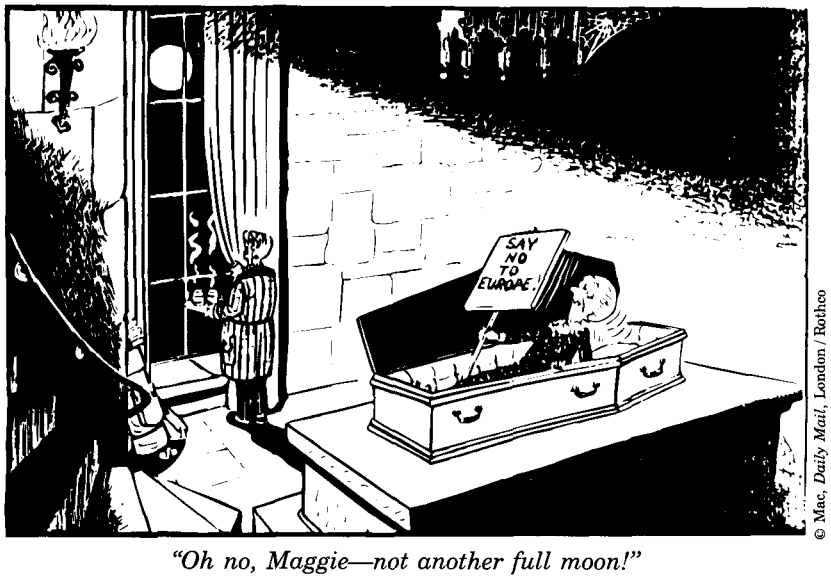
He should stick to his decision. The Ukrainian vote for independence was a foregone conclusion, even if the 80 per cent figure and the high support from the Russian-speaking minority were surprises. President Bush was right to get ahead of the curve.

The U.S. is now in a better position to exert some positive influence. The world has an interest in ensuring coherent command and control over Soviet nuclear weapons; the West has a right to tie economic aid to a sensible accord on economic arrangements, especially on liberal trading relations. The new voluntary commonwealth launched on December 8 by Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia is a big step toward these ends. The statesmanship shown so far by Yeltsin and the Ukrainian leader Kravchuk is a vindication of President Bush's action—and yet another proof of Gorbachev's pathetic irrelevance.

No-Growth Economics

THE BUSH Administration did not press Congress for a growth package before its Thanksgiving recess, and may not do so until the State of the Union message. The question of timing is important, and as usual in domestic matters the Bushmen have got it wrong. The time to have shown some energy on taxes and growth was the end of this year, not the beginning of next, when their efforts will appear to have been extorted by polls in New Hampshire.

More important than timing, however, is the question of substance, which is intimately bound up with the question of politics. If the Bushmen would announce that last summer's budget deal was a bad deal, struck with dirty dealers (i.e., congressional Democrats), and that their new proposals represent a repudiation of their own naïveté, they might regain the offensive. But if, out of a misplaced sense of collegiality toward Congress and a desire to justify the dealmakers within their own ranks, they do not clean the slate, then they might as well put it off till next Labor Day. It only takes one to fight, and so far the only ones fighting are the Democrats. By clinging to the budget deal, the Bushmen reverse Senator Aiken's advice on Vietnam: They're conceding defeat, and staying put.



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"Oh no, Maggie—not another full moon!"

The Unfinished Hostage Matter

WE decline to accept the release of the hostages as a Christmas present. Their return merely reflects shifting international power balances.

What is missing is a just feeling of *saeva indignatio*. Terry Anderson is notably charitable after more than six years under hideous circumstances. Even so one needs to pause over his declaration: "I don't hate anybody. I'm a Christian and a Catholic, and I really believe it's required of me that I forgive, no matter how hard that may be. And I'm determined to do that."

Forgiveness is for the individual. At that, Mr. Anderson's church requires a stern process of confession, repentance, and where possible restitution before granting absolution. And neither Mr. Anderson nor the other hostages have the authority to forgive the murderers of Leon Klinghoffer or the men who planted the bomb on the Lockerbie airliner.

The state must concern itself with justice. The United States' responsibility is to punish terrorism to a degree on the pain calculus that ensures that it will cease. A large amount of evidence instructs us that the immediate outlaw states number exactly four: Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Syria. The seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran along with its personnel was an act of war, and the Carter Administration should have gone to Congress and treated it accordingly. The hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* (along with the murder of Leon Klinghoffer) was an act of piracy, and the Reagan Administration should have treated it accordingly.

The prosecution of such a war would not have meant occupying Tripoli or Baghdad or Teheran with the 82nd Airborne. Killing Carlos the Jackal, George Habash, or even Yasir Arafat would have been frivolous. But "war" would have meant exacting a high enough price from their sponsors to ensure discontinuation of the practice. Available to us is a wide variety of activities, not excluding the bombing of oil facilities, airports, rail lines, power sta-

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tions, and docks, the mining of harbors, and a naval blockade. Certainly we can begin by posting a reward for those of the hostages' captors who are identifiable, because we should leave no doubt that we want them, dead or alive.

Conservative Protectionism?

IN A SPIRITED appearance on the Brinkley show on December 8, Pat Buchanan defended what George Will called his "flirting with protectionism."

> BUCHANAN: Why do you say that, George?
>
> WILL: Well, because you talk about how we can't have American low-paying jobs going across the border to Mexico.
>
> BUCHANAN: I mean, why do you say "an American conservative"? You know who the three strongest opponents of the Trade Expansion Act of Jack Kennedy were in 1962? Barry Goldwater, J. Strom Thurmond, and the senator from Connecticut called Prescott Bush.

Comments: It is true that Senator Goldwater opposed the bill that became law and permitted the President flexible authority over tariff levels. But it is also true that this attitude was a hangover from the Republican Party that gave us the Smoot–Hawley Act, in the opinion of some scholars a major factor in bringing on the great Depression.

Mr. Buchanan went on:

> My view with regard to Mexico is this: It is insane to raise the U.S. minimum wage to $4.35 an hour, and then tell a small businessman whose head you just put under water, "If you go to Mexico, you can hire for $1 an hour." What you have to do, George, you got to take off the burdens of taxes, of regulations off American business and American industry, and then the United States can start to compete.

Mr. Buchanan is incorrect in suggesting that the conservative tradition endorses high tariffs. Adam Smith's first claim to attention was as an opponent of tariffs. One can't find a single member of the Chicago or Austrian schools who believes in a high tariff; and if there is a member of the Mt. Pelerin Society who believes in tariffs, he is hiding that heresy. We refer Mr. Buchanan to two paragraphs published as recently as June 24 by *NR*'s Ed Rubenstein:

"Perhaps the best way to gauge an FTA's [Free Trade Agreement's] likely impact is to look at areas where free trade between the two nations already exists. Under the border plan or *maquiladora* program introduced in 1965, U.S.-made components were shipped duty-free to U.S.-owned subsidiaries in Mexico, where they are assembled and re-exported, also duty free, back to the United States. Since 1986, the number of Mexicans employed in the plants had doubled to 460,000. The *maquiladoras* now provide about one-fifth of all manufacturing jobs in Mexico.

"The big draw for U.S. companies is cheap labor: a $12-an-hour job in the U.S., burdened with Social Security taxes and health benefits, can be done for between $1.50 and $2 an hour in Mexico. Some low-skilled U.S. workers have undoubtedly been displaced . . . But by allowing American business to cut costs, the southern migration has saved 100,000 jobs in directly export-related industries, and created perhaps twice as many jobs in industries like warehousing, real estate, and transportation."

And Mr. Buchanan should read forward from 1962 to the 1964 Republican Party platform, on which Barry Goldwater ran for President. It called for "returning the consumer to the driver's seat as the chief regulator and chief beneficiary of a free economy, by resisting excessive concentration of power, whether public or private." Yes, it also warned against "irreparable injuries to any domestic industries by disruptive surges of imports," but nowhere in this long document was there a call for fixed tariffs.

Paterfamilias

REGARDLESS of the outcome of the Palm Beach trial—and the testimony of William Kennedy Smith's accuser was powerfully plausible—the verdict in itself will carry no great implications. Everyone is against rape, if it happened. But proving it is often difficult, especially when the putative victim has made herself vulnerable by going home with the defendant at an ungodly hour and when her own past can be thrown at her. To say she was asking for trouble is not to say she deserved it, but even if she is telling the truth her own indiscretion has given the rapist a chance to get off the hook. And the possibility remains that what happened was not precisely rape in the legal sense.

But it's not too early for a verdict on the conduct of Edward Kennedy, who inaugurated the family's wild and crazy Good Friday night, and whose hereditary moral leadership didn't suffice to deter, outside his window, what was at least a sordid act, and perhaps a cruel and criminal one.

Kennedy showed up commendably clean and sober for the trial and recited a typical litany of tribal sufferings. It seems that the tragic evening had its genesis in the sorrows of the Kennedys. The family had been lamenting the death of Willie's father eight months earlier (this drew a tear from the defendant). Such was the senator's lasting grief for Stephen Smith that he had been unable to sleep that night.

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Instead of taking a walk on the beach, he had, unwisely in retrospect, invited his son and nephew to join him in bar-hopping.

Prosecutor Moira Lasch showed considerable restraint in not guffawing at this performance. Most of us have lost family members, but it is not common for grief to set off an emotional chain reaction, months later, terminating in sex on the lawn. Rube Goldberg, thou shouldst be living at this hour. It is irresistible to recall Kennedy's strident words over the years on behalf of women's rights, and his warnings of what would befall women at the hands of conservatives. Here is a case in point. Everyone concerned, including Kennedy himself, would have been better off if Robert Bork had been a guest at the Kennedy compound that night.

Kimberly Bergalis, R I P

KIMBERLY BERGALIS, her parents said, came to feel she had a special calling. It was to bring a glimmer of truth, however forlorn, into a debate characterized by confusion, denial, smugness, and suicidal self-indulgence. That this mission, now mercifully ended, was a success is best seen in the uneasy, often resentful attitude of those for whom she was a living rebuke. Why all this attention to one AIDS victim, went the refrain, when so many others are dying too? Her warnings about untested medical personnel who might be infecting their patients, like the dentist who killed her, were "misguided," based on a false sense of panic and "homophobia." And of course the solution was not to test doctors for AIDS, or encourage voluntary testing; the solution, as ever, was "more money for research." How dare we "canonize" this "lovely white woman with no sexual history," demanded Anna Quindlen in the *New York Times*, when obviously the real "heroes" are those courageous activists and the growing ranks of "safe sex" spokesmen. "No sexual history" is how the jaded describe a chaste woman of 23 who, as Miss Bergalis explained to disbelieving interviewers, "wanted to wait for marriage." Marriage and its joys will never come for Kimberly Bergalis, but in her integrity and courage she affirmed that other things were also precious.

O Christmas Tree

O Christmas tree, O Christmas tree,
  Who's peeking through the louvre?
I'm set for Santa Claus, but he
  Could pass for Herbert Hoover.
Is this the Ghost of Crashes Past,
Assigned to turn my guests aghast,
Or will the specter vanish fast
  With simple spot remover?

W. H. VON DREELE

George Stigler, R I P

THE OBITUARIES identify Professor George J. Stigler of the University of Chicago as a Nobel Prize–winning economist. He was that and more. He did the work of a scholar and a teacher, both superbly. Those of us privileged to have known Stigler as his students or his colleagues will never forget his quick and sharp wit, which was the wit of distilled wisdom, not mere cleverness with words. Of those Nobel Prize winners who make grandiloquent statements on things they know nothing about, Stigler said drily that they "issue stern ultimata to the public on almost a monthly basis, and sometimes on no other basis."

Stigler's classroom was an intellectual Demolition Derby where fashionable cant and tempting fallacies were sent crashing to the junk heap. For Stigler, economics was not some magic formula to produce personal fortune or national miracles. Economics was, for him, a body of knowledge "that prevents hopeless but costly endeavors." He was not looking for "solutions." He was exposing the dangerous illusion that politicians can produce a free lunch. If teaching us how to analyze and warning us against free lunches seems like a somewhat limited role for economics, it was in keeping with Stigler's view of "our disgraceful ignorance of the effects of past policies" and his conviction that "only a tiny set of policies have been studied with even moderate care."

The era spanned by Stigler's life included two decades—the 1930s and the 1960s—marked by passionate delusions, in economics as elsewhere. He specialized in two areas where those delusions were especially prevalent, industrial organization and the history of economics, so his skepticism was especially needed.

"Monopoly has become as popular a subject in economics as sin has been in religion," Stigler said. The analogy was apt, for much that has been said about monopoly by economists specializing in industrial organization has been evangelical rather than logical—and demands for evidence have sometimes been considered as shocking as heresy.

Stigler never said much (if anything) about the sacred duty of a scholar to seek the truth rather than notoriety. He simply lived it. That was an old-fashioned virtue that deserves an old-fashioned word: noble. That's more important than Nobel.

—THOMAS SOWELL

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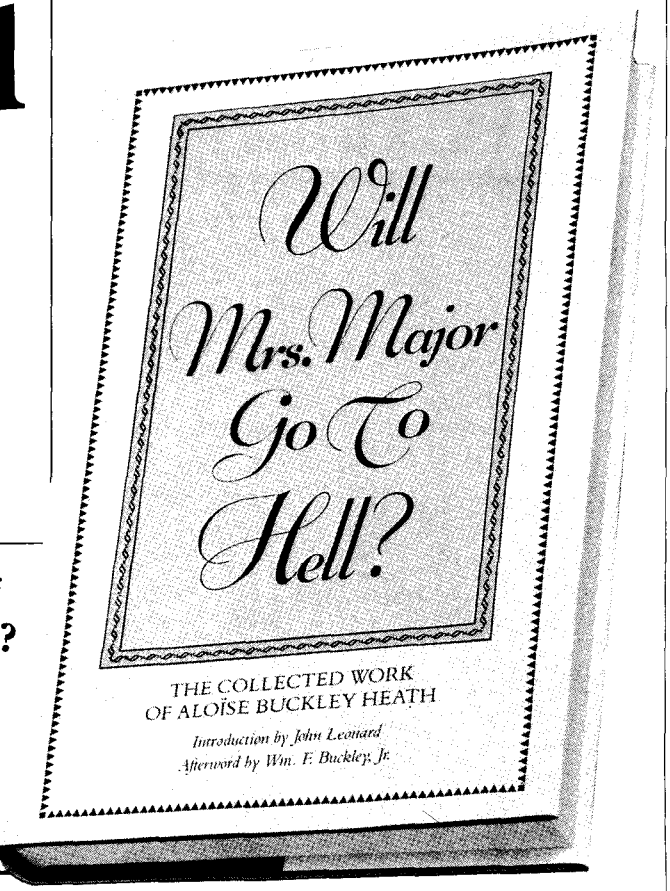
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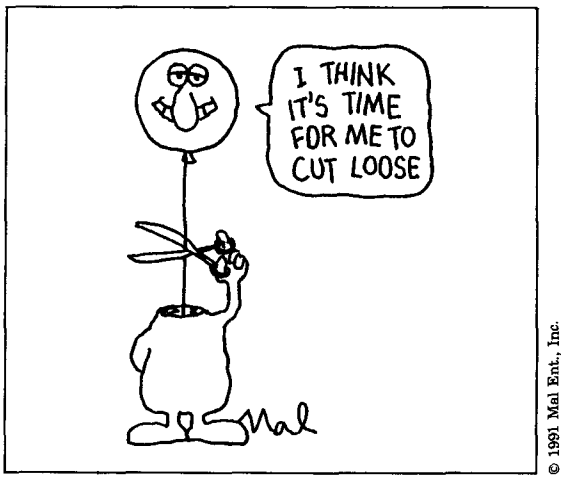

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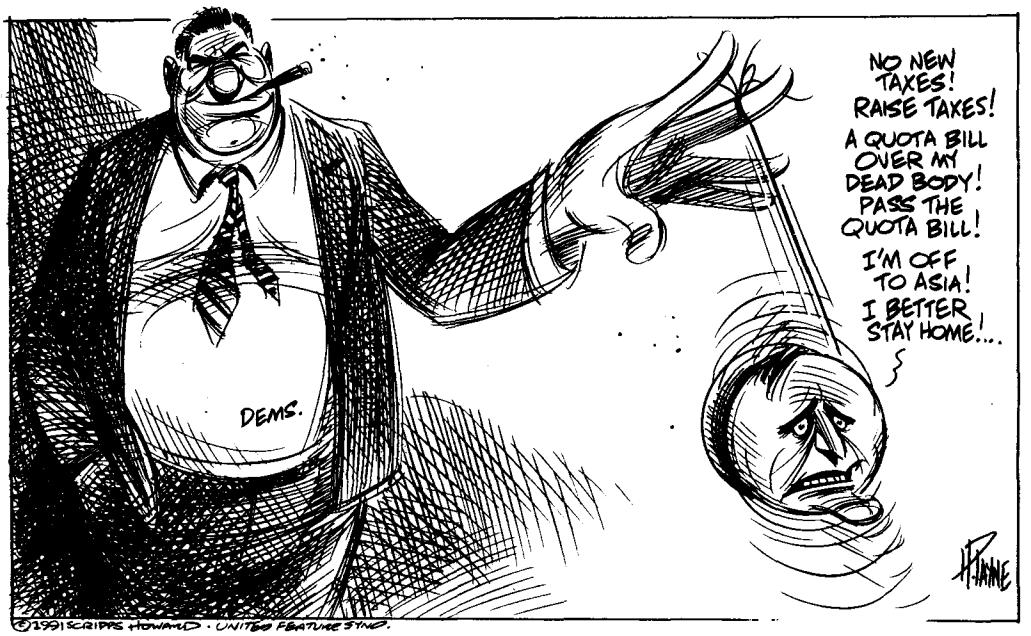
DEMS.
NO NEW TAXES!
RAISE TAXES!
A QUOTA BILL OVER MY DEAD BODY!
PASS THE QUOTA BILL!
I'M OFF TO ASIA!
I BETTER STAY HOME....
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YO-YO GEORGE

An Urban Christmas

Jolly old St. Nicholas,
  When you fly this way,
Loaded down with dandy toys
  In your dear old sleigh,
Watch the razor wire that's
  Bordering the roof;
It's just been electrified,
  So, old thing, don't goof.

W. H. VON DREELE

"Nobody can make me cross Judea and Samaria in the dark."

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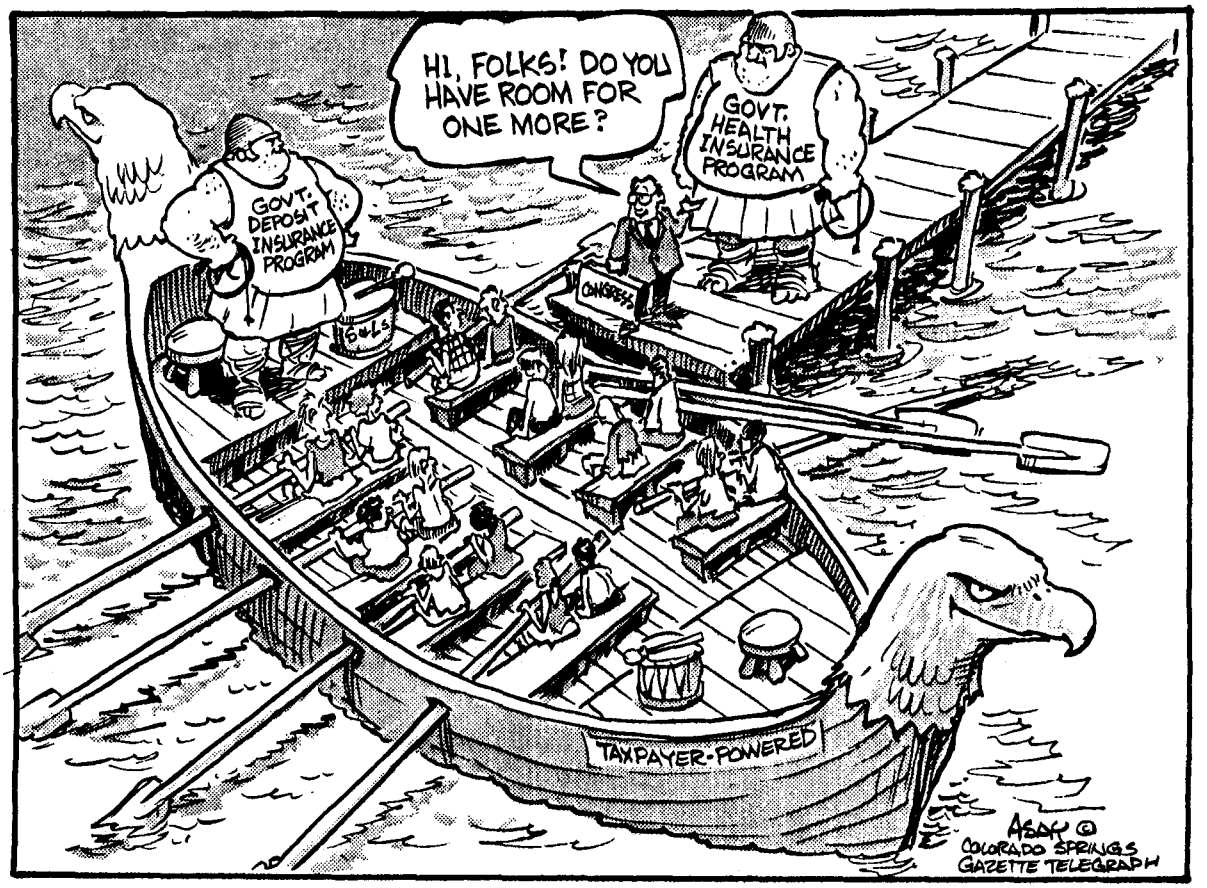

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IN SEARCH OF ANTI-SEMITISM

What Christians Provoke What Jews? Why? By Doing What? — And Vice Versa

In Five Parts

1. Joe Sobran 2. Pat Buchanan 3. *The Dartmouth Review*
4. *The Nation* 5. Conclusions

by William F. Buckley Jr.

Part 1

JOE SOBRAN

THE LETTER from Mr. Horan (a stranger) of Fort Smith, Arkansas, came in to the office in June 1991, soon after we had published an article by Joe Sobran to the effect that it was the Earl of Oxford who had written the plays universally attributed to Shakespeare. The writer caught what humor is to be found *In Re Sobran and The Problem*, and touches, however inadvertently, on some of the questions I intend to explore.

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Look, I love the hell out of Joseph Sobran, but I think that he's getting a little kooky. In fact, I think that he's getting *a lot* kooky. I'd like to think that he inhaled a little too much sidestream smoke when he took his boy to see the Rolling Stones, but that was two years ago. If Mr. Sobran is not peddling variants on the Blood Libel, he's schmoozing with the Liberty Lobby, or running on (and on) about the Earl of Oxford, or moaning about how we're gonna get whupped in the Desert . . .

The boy needs a rest.

Mr. Sobran is the best "Aginner" I have ever seen. Down my part of the country, an Aginner is a feller who is "against" most everything in general. By and by, these folks have to tell you what they are *for*, as a way of 'splaining why they are agin something that is going on as they speak. The world has done mostly turned Joe's way in the past three years. Hell, even the universities are getting sick of PC. In five years, Mr. Sobran is going to have nothing which he can legitimately be agin!

Well, who would've thunk and Hallelujah. But there's the rub. Aginners would rather have a silly argument than a nice juicy steak and a roll in the hay with a Genuine Hollywood Star. So now Mr. Sobran is having to go *find* things to ruckus about, and he has picked up a bunch of sure-fire hellraisers: Jews and Shakespeare. Down here in the South, us dum ole dirteaters would say: "Those is issues that deserve a good lettin' alone."

Please impart that little bit of folk wisdom to my Good Buddy. And tell Mr. Sobran that "You should never try to teach a pig to sing: it can't be done, and it annoys the pig." *Robertson* v. *White*, 633 F. Supp. 954, 959 (W.D. Ark. 1986). After all, it's The Law.*

Yours sincerely,
Matthew Horan

We'll let Shakespeare go, while making the point in passing that Mr. Horan is mistaken in suggesting that Joe is always caught up by something or another. Our

*From the opinion of H. Franklin Waters, Chief Judge of the Western District of Arkansas: "However, where the Court is of the opinion that the complaint does not and cannot state a cause of action under state or federal law, then there is no point in passing the matter into discovery. As the saying goes, you should never try to teach a pig to sing: it can't be done, and it annoys the pig."

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association goes back twenty years, and though it is true that he has a high capacity for sustained indignation, it is only Israel and The Jews that seem to have him semi-permanently obsessed; yes, the right word, I think. I propose to inquire into the question by analyzing Joe Sobran (a close friend) to the extent necessary to explore contemporary anti-Semitism. This is not a history of anti-Semitism or of its causes. It is rather a look at it as revealed by the practices of a few journalists and intellectuals, and by the arguments they use. There is a great deal to be learned from the experience of Joe Sobran.

Types of Anti-Semitism

I HAVE some credentials in the area, among them my own father's anti-Semitism. It is probably never too early to distinguish the kinds of anti-Semitism we run into in the world. The apocalyptic kind was, of course: The Holocaust; and I'll be asking whether the shadow of the Holocaust is being made to stretch too far in contemporary polemics. This is different from denying that the Holocaust is, and will always be, one of the great historical ventures in denatured human barbarism. There are Jews who continue to fear that the fires that lit the Holocaust might one day be rekindled. But there are also Jews who, comfortable with the protocols built up around Auschwitz, are disposed, so to speak, to prolong the period of de-Nazification indefinitely. And fierce anti-Semitism of a threatening kind continues, for instance among the Palestinians. Probably a higher percentage of them hate the Jews than ever Germans hated the Jews in the Thirties, and the Holocaust is eloquent testimony to what a very few, moved by intense clinical passions, can accomplish. And then too, every now and again one comes across such as Amos Elon, writing in *The New Yorker* (May 13, 1991):

> Anyone with more than a fleeting acquaintance with Vienna knows that for every Viennese hatemonger you read about there are many Viennese who are liberal-minded. And yet in a 1980 poll, 20 per cent of the Austrians who responded said they were in favor of legally prohibiting Jews from owning real estate and capital in Austria. A poll taken in 1984 by Vienna University social scientists showed that only 14 per cent of the population was "largely free of prejudice" against Jews. Sixty-four per cent said that Jews were "too powerful" politically and economically. Thirty-four per cent believed that "honest competition" with Jews was impossible. Fifty-seven per cent said that they shouldn't have to be reminded so often of the murder of millions of Jews in the extermination camps. Twenty-one per cent said that the "removal of the Jews from our country [under the Nazis] has also produced positive results." In a more recent poll, 23 per cent said that "Jews should not occupy influential positions in our country," and 6 per cent confessed that they would be physically repelled if they had to shake a Jew's hand.

My impression is that these are tabloidized findings, influenced in part by the national resentment over the (deserved) ostracism of President Kurt Waldheim, and that some of the questions were on the order of, "Do you believe that the experience of slavery benefited the Negro race?" to which question 21 per cent of Americans might answer Yes—reasoning, with Booker T. Washington, that slavery en route to emancipation was preferable to a continuation of the kind of life common in Africa during the eighteenth century.

Apprehensive Jews react in two different ways. On the one hand there is the Jew who, reacting to a remark unfriendly to his cause or his religion, deduces from it a potential to revive the spirit of the Holocaust. There is another reaction, opportunistic in character. There are Americans out there, I think, who would resist a Holocaust as fiercely as Elie Wiesel, who are nevertheless whispered about as anti-Israel and derivatively anti-Semitic, never mind that what they want to talk about or to urge on public policy has nothing to do with approval of anti-Semitism, let alone genocide; which leaves us with some people who don't talk about what they want to talk about for fear of being branded as anti-Semitic.

My father and his generation lived in an age in which anti-Semitism was very widespread. I suppose there is no harm in revealing that it was McGeorge Bundy, former dean of Harvard, former national-security assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, former president of the Ford Foundation, who told me one day at lunch, à propos of I forget what, that if he were to hear spoken today the kind of thing that was "routinely spoken at [his father's] lunch table," he would leave the room in protest.

I knew exactly what he meant, because at my father's lunch table one heard (I must suppose) the same kind of thing. Interestingly enough, the bias never engaged the enthusiastic attention of any of my father's ten children (any more than of Mr. Bundy's four), except in the attenuated sense that we felt instinctive loyalty to any of Father's opinions, whether about Jews or about tariffs or about Pancho Villa. Seven or eight children in Sharon, Connecticut, among them four of my brothers and sisters, thought it would be a great lark one night in 1937 to burn a cross outside a Jewish resort nearby. That story has been told, and my biographer (John Judis) points out that I was not among that wretched little band. He fails to point out that I wept tears of frustration at being forbidden by senior siblings to go out on that adventure, on the grounds that (at age 11) I was considered too young. Suffice it to say that children as old as 15 or 16 who wouldn't intentionally threaten anyone could, in 1937, do that kind of thing lightheartedly. Thoughtless, yes, but motivated only by the desire to have the fun of *scaring adults*! It was the kind of thing we didn't distinguish from a Halloween prank. None of us gave any thought to Kristallnacht, even when it happened (November 9, 1938—I was 12, in a boarding school in England), and certainly not to its implications. But then this is a legitimate grievance of the Jew: Kristallnacht was not held up in the critical media as an international event of the first magnitude, comparable to the initial (1948) laws heralding the for-

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mal beginning of apartheid or the triggering episodes of the religious wars of the seventeenth century.

When, a few years before the cross-burning near Sharon, Connecticut, a Jewish student was elected to a fraternity at Yale University, a pig was burned outside its doors that night. Those were the years when Daniel Bell, freshly graduated from CCNY (the City College of New York), decided to go to Japan to become a Sinologist. Why? Because, he told me, there was no way in which he could achieve a tenured chair at Columbia (his burning ambition) as a mere social scientist: "They just didn't give professorships to Jews," he explained. So his stratagem was to become a Sinologist, who were in such short supply as to permit him the leverage of the seller's market. A world war spared him the effort, and of course he has just retired from a tenured chair at Harvard. But the professor who taught me philosophy was the first Jew to be given tenure at Yale.*

JOE SOBRAN

Suffice it to say that anti-Semitism of the kind experienced by such as the above was pervasive in America and that what happened in Germany, Austria, and Poland during the Forties is, in the judgment of many Jews, the hideous result, if not exactly of animus expressed casually at the dining tables of New England and Paris, then of international indifference to such animus.

It is not easy to pin down. There are flashes of memory. I think of the Spanish guide who led us by the great painting in the Prado of the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada, shown hurling the crucifix at the feet of Ferdinand and Isabella. She explained the drama to us: "Torquemada was demanding that the Jews in Spain who continued to deny Christ be expelled—otherwise, said Torquemada, throwing a crucifix down on the floor at the feet of his sovereigns, *¡Crucifiquenlo de nuevo!*" (Crucify him yet again!)" Their sovereign majesties signed the expulsion order, and the Inquisition began.

Yes, 1492. The Jews were formally readmitted to Spain (easy to remember the date, which requires only a simple digital inversion) in 1942. Much can be written about the cultural and ethical meaning of those five hundred years of expulsion, but most Catholics would reasonably consider it a quirk of anti-Catholicism to link any present-day Catholic practice to the Inquisition. Anyone who preached that to yield to current Catholic political doctrine on, say, abortion would catapult us back onto the road to the Inquisition would be smiled at, or should be; raising the question whether certain kinds of statements about American Jews, or about Israel, are responsibly interpreted as early-bird signs of a remobilization toward Auschwitz.

And then too, in the immediate shadow of the Holocaust, a number of fragile formulations became modish and, in the general piety brought on by the Holocaust, were inadequately explored. I remember Gregory Peck in the movie *Gentlemen's Agreement*. He fought bravely for the right of Jews to buy property in a suburban area previously restricted, informing the judge (jury? newspaperman? congregation?—I forget) that there was *no such thing as a Jewish "race," there was only a Jewish religion*. A valid taxonomic point which, however, should not be used to strip probably the majority of American Jews, who (like their Protestant counterparts) are not actively religious, of their ethnic pedigrees. The famous answer to the question, Who is a Jew? is of course, "Anyone who says he is a Jew." Jewish Orthodoxy has a more formal answer to that question, but we are not talking about doctrinal definitions. A Catholic who does not do his Easter Duty has committed a mortal sin, and until relieved through confession is a spiritual expatriate, but is nevertheless thought by his neighbors, who in any case tend not to notice Sunday parietals, to be "a Catholic," and the census takers formally put him down as one. Many Americans who consider themselves Jewish rest their claims on ethnic origins rather than on religious credenda.

And then another memory. As the editor of the daily newspaper at Yale, I would spend one hour every week (it was a tradition) with the president, in those days a relatively inaccessible figure. Charles Seymour, historian and curator of the Colonel House collection, was an urbane New Englander, and one day he was reflecting, during our weekly colloquy, on the effort being made by the legislature at Hartford (this was 1949) to enact a Fair Educational Practices Act that would require all colleges in the state to strip from questionnaires sent to applicants any question as to their religion, and to stop asking applicants for photographs. President Seymour was greatly irked by this statist imposition. The legislators *do not realize*, he said to me, that among the functions of a university is to act as a collector of materials. "We are in the business of amassing data, and what the religious affiliation of a student is we have legitimate reasons for wanting to know."

I remember taking it for granted that Mr. Seymour was not being disingenuous, though the Catholic chaplain of the university winked at me when I told him about it and divulged that each year a virtually identical percentage of Jews and of Catholics was admitted to the freshman class. A book on the general subject has been published (*Joining the Club*, by Dan A. Oren), and

*Compare: "If someone had predicted earlier this century that the presidents of Princeton, Dartmouth, and Harvard would one day be named Shapiro, Freedman, and Rudenstine (the latter was born half Jewish), he would have been laughed out of town" (*Newsweek*, October 7, 1991).

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it is certainly true that, at Yale as elsewhere, there was an unspoken racial-religious quota system.

But in that same conversation Charles Seymour went on to say that there were certain taboos that had crystallized in the last generation, among them that one could no longer speak of the Jews as having any "group characteristics." Of course that is nonsense, he said. They do have group characteristics. "So do we Protestants. So do you Catholics. But you aren't supposed to say it." Many years later I repeated this conversation to an urbane Jewish friend, a journalist and author, who said that it was true that you can't ascribe group characteristics to Jews. But a little while later he was telling me that, as a Jew, he was proud of two traits common among Jews, the first a true thirst for justice, the second a "sense of the book," by which he meant a desire to learn; conversely, he disliked what he saw as a tendency to self-imposed tribalism and a tendency of some to violate their ethical precepts by a vulnerability to greed.

This exercise is not for the purpose of attempting a social profile of the American Jew; the intention is much more modest, namely to build some context within which it becomes possible to evaluate what can defensibly be thought of as *anti-Semitism* and, at the same time, what is *wrongfully* thought of as anti-Semitic. If it is anti-Semitic to believe that there are group characteristics among Jews, then anti-Semitism indeed lingers.

What about Joe Sobran?

JOE SOBRAN was born in 1946 in Detroit, and I came across him when he was doing graduate work in English at Eastern Michigan University. My host showed me a letter Joe had written to a professor who had volubly objected, in the student newspaper, to my having been invited to speak in the first place. I spotted in that letter an extraordinary polemical skill, as also a capacity to arrange thought with lucidity and wit. I approached him. Soon after, he began flying to New York from Detroit every fortnight to do editorials for NATIONAL REVIEW. A year or so later he emigrated to New York to work full time for the magazine; in due course he went to Washington, reducing his commitments to regular editorials and criticism, and coming in to New York once every month.

Meanwhile, he had begun publishing a syndicated column.

Early in 1986 I scheduled a private dinner with him at which I told him that I thought he should know that in his syndicated column he was gradually giving his readers the impression that he was obsessed on the subject of Israel. More, I told him that unlike obsessions with, say, Nicaragua or China or even Russia, an obsession with Israel at the expense of Israel gives rise to suspicions of an awakening anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism, I told him, is a mortal disease in his profession. I even joked about it a little. William Scranton (I remember saying) had for a generation been among the two or three most influential Republicans in the country. Then President-elect Nixon sent him to the Middle East to survey the scene. He returned to say he thought the Nixon Administration should be "more even-handed" in managing the problems of the Middle East, "and he has never been heard from since!" We both laughed. One does laugh when acknowledging inordinate power, even as one deplores it. It would not have occurred to me, that evening, to suggest to Joe that he avoid *anti-Semitism*. Because to do so would have sounded as patronizing and unnecessary as to warn him against contracting syphilis.

But six months later I judged it to be crisis time. I called the senior staff of NATIONAL REVIEW together. We met three times, twice with Joe. What led to those meetings, and what issued from them, is compactly explained in the editorial note I published in the issue of July 4, 1986:

IN RE JOE SOBRAN AND ANTI-SEMITISM

Complaints have reached us concerning a series of columns written by my colleague Joseph Sobran under the aegis of his newspaper syndicate. It is charged that these columns constitute anti-Semitism. In the columns, Mr. Sobran, among other things, has declared that Israel is not an ally to be trusted; surmised that the *New York Times* endorsed the military strike against Libya only because it served its Zionist editorial line; and ruminated that the visit of the Pope to a synagogue had the effect of muting historical persecutions of Christians by Jews. In that last column, Mr. Sobran, exasperated, wrote, "But it has become customary recently to ascribe all Jewish–Christian friction to Christians. If a Jew complains about Christians, Christians must be persecuting him. If a Christian complains about Jews, he is doing the persecuting—in the very act of complaining. It simply isn't fair." And in his most recent column on the theme, Joe Sobran complains that he is criticized for being anti-Semitic unwarrantedly: "I find that the more I say what I really think, the more I'm accused of thinking something else." Again he says that "the word 'anti-Semite' is more potent than most of the charges of bigotry that are flung around these days. It carries the whiff of Nazism and mass murder. 'It means,' as a friend of mine puts it, 'that you ultimately approve of the gas chambers.'"

It is appropriate, on my own behalf and on that of my other senior colleagues, to comment on what is becoming a public quarrel involving Joe Sobran and those who impute anti-Semitism to him.

What needs to be said first is that those who know him know that Sobran is not anti-Semitic. Neither is he (begin counting) a) anti-black, b) anti-Italian, c) anti-women, nor even d) anti-gay, to list some of the controversies he has got into that have resulted in such allegations. He is against a) some things done by blacks, b) some things done by Italian-Americans, c) some things done by the women's liberation movement, and d) some things done by gays. With learning and eloquence, his acute eye roams the universe day and night in search of paradox and irony. In doing so he finds his quarries; but sometimes, in exposing them, he expresses himself with excessive liberty from accepted conventions.

Now ethnic sensitivities vary. It doesn't much matter what John Cheever or John O'Hara or John Updike or anybody else writes about them—you cannot really succeed, in

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America, in riling the WASPs. Their sense of security is as solid as Plymouth Rock, and incidentally as insensate. Blacks, yes, are sensitive, but black lobbies are not powerful enough to punish non-political transgressors against such taboos. (A black book-buyers' boycott against a novelist would not impoverish.) If the spoken or written offense is egregious enough, as in the case of the joke told [in 1975] to John Dean by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, a Cabinet officer gets fired. If a district attorney is named to a federal judgeship and it is revealed that he once made a pot-valiantly genial reference to the Ku Klux Klan, he can be defeated on the floor of the Senate. And no one running for office in a state in which the black population is significant would consider, post 1965, violating the taboo. On the other hand, there is discussion of such questions as relative black intelligence, sexual promiscuity, and upward mobility that still gets a sober hearing in sober surroundings. About the American Indians one can say most things with impunity; about gays, progressively less as, emerging from the closet, they consolidate and give strength to their retaliatory powers.

In respect of American Jews, the sensitivity is of an extremely high order, and for the best of reasons. The toniest "liberal" universities in America would not, until about the time Joe Sobran was born, give tenure to Jewish professors. To elect a Jewish student to most social fraternities was quite simply unthinkable a generation ago. The designation of Jews as mortal enemies of civilization by the same European power that had given us Bach and Goethe, Kant and Einstein, reminded the Jews (those Jews who survived) that no society, however civilized its pedigree, can complacently be trusted to desist from the most ferocious human activity: genocide.

It is a far cry from Auschwitz to the suggestion (Joe Sobran's) that the Israelis are "frequently duplicitous" in their behavior toward America: but it ought not to surprise Sobran that such charges tend to alarm American Jews. And given Sobran's high intellectual acumen, one wonders that he should, on the one hand, quote with evident concurrence an anonymous friend's warning that the word "anti-Semitic" ". . . means that you ultimately approve of the gas chambers," and yet be surprised—indeed, be deeply hurt—by the intensity of the criticism he has experienced. When, 35 years ago, I wrote that an anti-conservative, anti-Christian consensus prevailed in the Yale faculty, I would not have been justified in registering surprise when conservative Christian scholars at Yale failed to achieve tenure.

My own evaluation of the public question in which Joe Sobran is involved—and here I speak also for the other senior editors—is this:

1. The structure of prevailing taboos respecting Israel and the Jews is welcome. The age calls for hypersensitivity to anti-Semitism, over against a lackadaisical return to the blasé conventions of the pre-war generation, which in one country led to genocidal catastrophe. Needless to say, this is hardly to dignify the preposterous charges of anti-Semitism occasionally leveled, ignorantly and sometimes maliciously, at anyone who takes a position contrary to that of organized Jewish opinion, whether in Israel or elsewhere.

2. Any person who, given the knowledge of the reigning protocols, read and agonized over the half-dozen columns by Joe Sobran might reasonably conclude that those columns were written by a writer inclined to anti-Semitism. A savage entering a Catholic church who absentmindedly chewed on consecrated wafers would not be thought blasphemous. The non-savage, doing the same thing, would. Naïfs cannot commit a black mass; cosmopolitans can, and do.

3. Those who know Joe Sobran know not only that he does not harbor ethnic prejudices, but that he regards such prejudice as sinful, despised by God, and therefore despised by man. But the personal integrity of a private man is a matter adjudicated between him, his family, and his conscience. The integrity of a public figure is public business. If the public establishes a consensus that during the playing of the National Anthem hands should not be placed in one's pants pockets, then to do so from the dais is an affront on the assembly, never mind that the clinical argument can be made that hands in pockets are not intrinsically an act of disrespect. [I once passed by Lenin in his tomb, hands in pockets, and was told to remove them. I did so, understanding.]

4. In the last fifteen or twenty years, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, it became plain that institutional anti-Semitism was consolidating around the political Left, where, ideologically, class hatreds belong. A scholar, recently commenting on the drift away from Communism by the American Left, acutely observed that their disillusion with Communism was rather a reaction against Communism's "ungainly" cultural performance in literature and the arts, than against human depravity. In England, anti-Semitism (disguised as anti-Zionism) is the property of the political Left. So does the animus move in the United States, where *The Nation* magazine exhibits the same kind of toleration toward anti-Semitism (witness the recent essay there by Gore Vidal, in which neoconservatives are dismissed as Zionist imperialists) that it shows to Fidel Castro, the Sandinistas, and Alger Hiss. The movement of anti-Semitism from unexamined prejudice of the political Right to inchoate agenda of the political Left is of epochal significance. The call, on the Right, fully to excrete its old prejudices is, accordingly, of first strategic and tactical importance.

5. NATIONAL REVIEW has, since its inception, declined association with anti-Semites, and indeed on one occasion went a generic step further. When it became clear, in 1957, that the direction *The American Mercury* was headed was anti-Semitic, I ruled, with the enthusiastic approval of my colleagues, that no writer appearing on the *Mercury*'s masthead, notwithstanding his own innocence on the subject, could also appear on NATIONAL REVIEW's.

The relationship of this journal toward our highly esteemed and beloved colleague, Joe Sobran, is one that will ultimately reflect a mature and civilized resolution of our commitment to these positions. We know him not to be what he is thought by some to have become; but what they suspect is not, under the circumstances, unreasonable. Accordingly, I here dissociate myself and my colleagues from what we view as the obstinate tendentiousness of Joe Sobran's recent columns. We are confident that in the weeks and months to come, he will charitably and rationally acknowledge the right reason behind the crystallization of the present structure of taboos, and that he will accordingly argue his positions in such fashion as to avoid affronting our natural allies.

How They Reacted

MY HANDLING of the Sobran crisis, as it turned out, didn't satisfy all our readers, didn't satisfy all our critics, and didn't satisfy Joe Sobran. He and I arrived at a private covenant:

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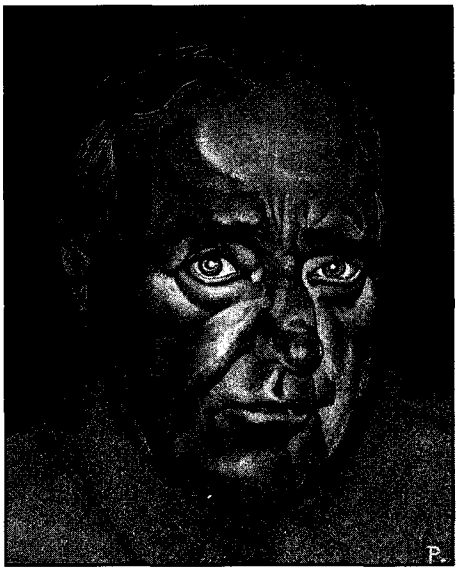
Whenever Joe set out to write about the Mideast, he would call and read me his column in draft form. The assumption here was that I was by experience better equipped than he to detect the formulation that was unwarrantedly provocative. Joe abided for a while by that covenant and read me two columns in the ensuing two or three months. He then stopped doing so, writing infrequently about the Mideast. But in the spring of 1990 he went back to the subject with, well, a vengeance. Meanwhile he had written me a long letter.



JEFF HART

Back in February of 1987 I had from my colleague Jeffrey Hart—a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, a professor of English at Dartmouth, a syndicated columnist, and an occasional contributor to *Commentary*—a letter in which he relayed detailed complaints from Norman Podhoretz. Podhoretz is, of course, the editor of *Commentary*, and a principal figure in the neoconservative movement. Beginning twenty years ago he took *Commentary* from a position of highbrow flatulence on the problem of Soviet imperialism and turned it into one of the most sophisticated and formidable weapons of the West in the cold war. *Commentary* is, officially, a publication of the American Jewish Committee, which body, however, has never interfered with Podhoretz's authority, any more than it had with that of the magazine's distinguished founder, Elliot Cohen.

Podhoretz now wrote to Hart about an article appearing in NATIONAL REVIEW by Sobran criticizing *NR*'s editorial policy on the Mideast.

Mr. Podhoretz reasonably assumed that Jeff Hart would pass the letter on to me, and accordingly I replied to him directly:

> You wrote that you were "surprised and dismayed by the fact that NATIONAL REVIEW published such a piece" as Joe Sobran had written, and that my doing so "does damage . . . lending credence to all those like Marty Peretz [the editor-in-chief of *The New Republic*] who have attacked me [Podhoretz] for being too easy on Buckley." The time is clearly overdue for a recapitulation of the relevant data.
>
> 1. I deemed Joe Sobran's six columns contextually anti-Semitic. By this I mean that if he had been talking, let us say, about the lobbying interests of the Arabs or of the Chinese, he would not have raised eyebrows as an anti-Arab or an anti-Chinese.
>
> 2. I took the initiative in disavowing those columns and in pointing out the contextual danger of such language. In doing so, I proffered my own opinion, which is expert, on the question whether Sobran was in fact anti-Semitic.
>
> 3. I advised Joe that if he continued to write such columns, we would need to dissociate ourselves not only from the columns, but from him, on the grounds that he was invincibly ignorant of an ethical–cultural point which I deem critically important in modern discourse.
>
> 4. It would appear to me, based on your reaction to my publishing his essay, that you are under the impression that I should have shorn him of his privileges as a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW. There is no compelling reason for you to be acquainted with the protocols of this magazine, but for thirty years I have given to any senior editor the privilege of disagreeing with the policy of the magazine through the device of the so-called "Open Question."
>
> 5. So convinced is Sobran that the charges of anti-Semitism leveled against him are intellectually and objectively unfair that he asked for space in which to give the reasons why. I did not rescind NATIONAL REVIEW's policies when I agreed to give him that space, which by organic arrangements he was entitled to. But I did, as an amateur diplomatist, urge him to recast his essay, when I saw the first draft of it, which, had I published it in the form presented, would in turn have required me to reiterate my livid objections to his six columns. He understood my point, substantially reconstructed his essay, and came up with 1,500 words to only a few sentences of which I have any objection whatever. . . . Moreover, you are strangely insensitive to the point that his essay is much more damaging to me than it is to you, for reasons I shan't patronize you by elucidating. [By this I meant that Joe's scorn for the reasoning by which I and my colleagues were guided was very painful to read from a colleague, published in my magazine.]
>
> 6. Your letter to Jeff arrives at the strangest moment, when you profess yourself embarrassed by insufficient docility to Marty Peretz, whose criticisms of NATIONAL REVIEW you [evidently] now feel you must pay more solemn attention to. This notwithstanding an editorial paragraph by Peretz published in the contemporary issue [of *The New Republic*] which is as indefensible as anything ever done by Sobran. [Peretz, reacting to my defense of Cardinal O'Connor when he visited Israel, had written, ". . . his abundant ignorance of the Middle East cannot suffice as explanation. The old Catholic Right has always had trouble with the Jewish problem. This explains why Buckley has made things so cozy for an unabashed bigot like columnist Joseph Sobran."] Jeff Hart's covering letter [to me] touches on several subjects, one of them Peretz's attack. "Marty Peretz's remarks in *TNR* are outrageous. Maybe you should take them on in a column—except that it is so disagreeable to get into the ring with someone who can write in the terms Peretz employed." I note that you say that in the next issue of *Commentary* you will apologize for your treatment of me—who took the initiative in respect of Sobran—rather than for Peretz, whose frenzy causes me only to be grateful that he is not a representative of Catholic orthodoxy; he is your problem, not mine. I despise the low level of his polemics, even as I contemplate with genuine pride the invitation I received today to accept the annual award of the Anti-Defamation League.

Norman—of course—replied.

> 1. For the record, I deemed Joe Sobran's columns anti-Se-

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mitic in themselves, and not merely "contextually." On that issue, it seems we disagree.

2. As to whether Sobran himself—as opposed to what he has written—is anti-Semitic, I leave that judgment to God. Your own "expert" opinion carries enormous authority with me, of course. But shouldn't you be entertaining a doubt or two in light of what you say in point 5? [That his original draft had crossed the bearable line.]

3. Might not point 5 also have a bearing here?

4. I do not presume to advise you, or any other editor, on internal procedures. But the rubric under which Sobran's article was published does not absolve the magazine of responsibility for publishing it. [A serious point, worth pondering. Should an editor who traditionally cedes to a dissenting senior editor the space in which to register the reasons for his dissent suspend the convention rather than publish in it material he deems indefensible?]

5. In addition to the comments I have already made on this point, I have to say that I found Sobran's article (as I wrote . . .) "simultaneously disingenuous and unrepentant." Surely you can't disagree with that characterization.

6. What can you mean by saying that Marty Peretz is my problem? That he and I are both Jewish? Why on earth should I apologize for him? He neither works for me nor speaks for me. Indeed, as it happens, I was so outraged by his editorial that I hung up on him when he too remained unrepentant in response to my call of protest. [A resourceful defense. Co-warriors in pro-Israelism don't in fact have to defend, or denounce, one another's tactics. But normally they exercise the right to do so, even if they are not thereby discharging a formal responsibility.]

So that Joe Sobran: Chapter 1 left the concerned public confused. Since anti-Semitism is essentially a moral question, it pays to labor to dissipate at least such confusion as yields to reason.

1. Norman Podhoretz was clearly correct that Joe Sobran was unrepentant.

2. *Commentary*'s editor thought NATIONAL REVIEW's editor wrong to publish Sobran's defense of himself, on the grounds that it was, inherently, yet another anti-Semitic exercise.

3. Yet another editor (Peretz of *The New Republic*) goes on record as suggesting that Buckley, as a member of the "old Catholic Right," has a "problem" with Jewish questions, which is why he extends hospitality to an "unabashed bigot" like Sobran.

4. Buckley et al., alarmed by Sobran's columns, had dissociated themselves from the sentiments expressed and language used, but were not prepared to sever their links with Sobran.

5. Podhoretz et al. are terminally displeased with Sobran, but only disappointed with Buckley.

6. Peretz is terminally displeased with Sobran and enough displeased with Buckley to denounce him in language that provokes a fellow editor, who is also Jewish, to hang up the telephone on him, while maintaining

7. that although a Jewish editor has no moral mandate publicly to dissociate himself from editorial outlawry committed by a fellow editor who is himself Jewish and is addressing the same questions, a Christian editor who exercises direct editorial control over his own journal should not permit the appearance in it under any dispensation of material deemed indefensible.

Today's Anti-Semitism

IN SEARCHING out the meaning of contemporary anti-Semitism, it is useful to ask whether in order to qualify as a contemporary anti-Semite one needs to be anti-Israel. The anti-Semitism of days gone by obviously manifested itself in other ways, ranging (with Hitler's awful exception) from exclusion from certain country clubs to immigration barriers. I suppose there are people around who go berserk at the presence of a Jew, as the Vienna poll above suggests, but they cannot be numerous (I have never met one).

In any event, no one is saying that kind of thing about Sobran. "People who call me anti-Semitic haven't the least idea what I'm about," he wrote me. It isn't only that the mere suggestion of such an ethnic allergy *surprises* him. "The fact is that I get bored in most places where there aren't a certain number of Jews, because there are so many really original thinkers among them [group characteristics?]. I need them. Even when I disagree with them I need their challenge."

But Sobran quickly qualifies this, turning it right around. What he calls philo-Semitism, he says, makes inordinate demands on intelligent people with live analytical minds. The people he criticizes, he says, "[feel] victimized even when they have considerable power and aren't using it very creditably." Once again he alights on what Mr. Seymour would have called a group characteristic:

> It's hard to generalize about them, and yet they do have a discernible if not exactly definable character. . . . Philo-Semitism can overgeneralize as preposterously as anti-Semitism. The fact that the one has replaced the other only means that the Jews' corporate fortunes have improved, not that people really appreciate them as they deserve to be appreciated. Real appreciation includes a certain amount of criticism, but even that has to rest on the assumption that they have the same rights as other people . . . But in our time, any criticism that doesn't sound like an after-dinner toast shocks the easy philo-Semitism of people who just don't want any trouble.

Joe then turns (these quotes are from the long personal letter addressed to me) to his reading of history.

> The ancient pagan charge against the Jews was that they were "misanthropes." At any rate, however the Jews now may differ from the Jews then, they've always been aloof debunkers of what they took to be the idolatries of people around them, including Christianity. This naturally irritates the natives—or maybe I should say the nativists. At times it irritates me. But you have to learn to respect that.

Joe was writing during a period when he was so fiercely at odds with Desert Storm that he was attracted to anyone, Left or Right, who opposed the military intervention in Iraq.

> I had to learn that [Noam] Chomsky is as much a native of

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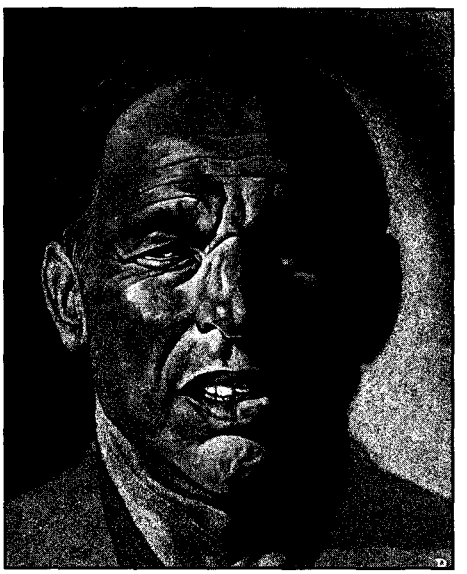
this country as I am, and that it was silly to call him "anti-American." His integrity and courage show in his willingness to live with that sort of dismissal. He's also been as unsparing of Israel as he has been of the U.S., when he could have made his life a lot easier among the intellectuals by being discreetly selective in his criticism. To my mind he represents something deeper and more honorable in the Jewish character than the Jewish chauvinists do. He's a true Israelite, in whom there is no guile.

Joe Sobran is convinced that it is only the *policies* of the State of Israel that attract his critical attention, and plague him. Whether it is policies that are distinctively, even uniquely, Israeli that upset him, or whether an anti-Israeli—anti-Semitic?—tropism manipulates his thought, it is an object of this essay to explore.

His criticisms of Israeli policy are adamant, and incessant.

> When I talk to a Palestinian for an hour or two, I'm struck at how absolutely *bizarre* it is that an editor of *The New Republic* or *Commentary* can, any time he wishes, buy a plane ticket and, upon landing at Tel Aviv, assume a whole range of "rights" that are denied to the native Arab. . . . Zionism is actually the assertion of some very unusual prerogatives. [Sobran doesn't distinguish here, though he should, between Arabs in the conquered territories, who enjoy virtually no rights, and Arabs within Israel, who have equal rights except that those who do not serve in the military (Jews are required to do so) forfeit some rights, e.g., to government jobs.]
>
> "Anti-Semitism" only seems to show up nowadays in the context of discussion of Israel. Jews aren't beaten in the streets, snubbed, denied entry to Harvard, etc. By every other index, anti-Semitism is defunct. Yet the Zionist Apparat wants to convince us it's raging, "just beneath the surface." It talks about "polite" and "sophisticated" and "thinly veiled" anti-Semitism. For some reason the stuff never gets overt. It always has to be exposed by interpretation. These ostensible qualifiers don't really qualify, either: when you're accused of "polite" anti-Semitism, your accuser is not saying: "Well, he may be an anti-Semite, but at least he's polite." He's saying: "This guy's politeness is phony. Strip away the fake good manners, and he's just another Hitler."



MARTY PERETZ

The jury reasonably asks: Is the critic of Israel so possessed to indict as to disfigure what actually goes on in Israel? Is he vulnerable to the charge that selective indignation betrays him? Isn't it fair to point out an historical indifference to the policies of other countries with analogous domestic policies? (Joe Sobran never spent a lot of time blasting apartheid.)

The column most frequently cited by critics of Sobran as dispositive on the matter of whether he is an anti-Semite is the one in which he "praised" the magazine *Instauration*, a wild racist-nativist publication whose deranged editor has a certain aptitude for wit and trenchancy, skills not denied to exhibitionists, as students of Gore Vidal will acknowledge. What Sobran wrote in this column (May 8, 1986) was, "I know of only one magazine in America that faces the harder facts about race: a little magazine called *Instauration*. Its articles are unsigned, and the name of its editor, Wilmot Robertson, is apparently fictitious. . . . *Instauration* is an often brilliant magazine, covering a beat nobody else will touch, and doing so with intelligence, wide-ranging observation, and bitter wit." Now note this carefully: "It is openly and almost unremittingly hostile to blacks, Jews, and Mexican and Oriental immigrants. It is also hostile to Nazism, which makes things confusing. Furthermore, it is hostile to Christianity."

It is characteristic of the critic on the chase that, yelping with glee over the discovery of Sobran on *Instauration*, he is indifferent to the qualifications Sobran entered. That *Instauration* is "hostile to blacks, . . . Mexican and Oriental immigrants . . . [and] Christianity" becomes simply unnoticeable. But even allowing for the qualification, there was no excusing what Sobran said. (The patron wisecrack highlighting the technique of the irrelevant excuse was that of Fr. George Tyrrell, who said of his fellow Jesuits at the turn of the century, "Accuse them of murdering three men and a dog, and they will triumphantly produce the dog alive.") It becomes so-what time that the magazine also hates everybody else. *Instauration* demands of a morally sensible reader simply: denunciation. "It assumes," Joe continued, "a world of Hobbesian conflict at the racial level: every race against every race. Knowing racial harmony is hard, *Instauration* takes a fatal step further and gives up on it." One sees here intellectual curiosity disinterestedly at work, a psychoanalyst probing inquisitively the character of Jack the Ripper. But now Joe Sobran, Explorer, tells us that usually there *are* grounds for interracial tension. "The liberal bromide tells us that prejudice is the product of ignorance, [but] the truth is that racial antagonism usually comes from personal experience. And yet that same experience produces personal affections for individuals of other races, affections that rule out, for most of us, total racial hostility." This finding is very possibly true, and in any event not uniquely invidious in respect of any particular race or creed.

Sobran, in the end, was respectful enough of public opinion to recognize his mistake. He was writing, after all, as a syndicated columnist, not as a psychologist for the *Parapsychology Review*, in which role he would be as unconcerned for taboos as a computer. "My column," he wrote a few weeks later, "should have denounced *Instauration* more vigorously, and anyone else is certainly

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welcome to do so. I have since learned, for instance, that it favors abortion as a way of controlling the black population. There you have two ugly positions rolled into one, and I should have had the sense to deduce this from the magazine's general premises. Its racism is serious. What I called its 'bitter wit' is more often cruel sarcasm, compulsively cruel even when it can't be funny."

In conclusion: Sobran made a serious mistake in applauding *Instauration*, whatever the stated qualifications. It is, however, a matter of record, first, that he entered these qualifications, and, second, that he withdrew his praise and publicly regretted having given it. He was nowhere (that I have seen) credited for this act of contrition, any more than for the earlier qualifications.

One Idea at a Time?

THE LESSON HERE is important. An editorialist isn't expected to weigh all the pros and cons of an argument or an article or indeed a book that contains outrageous thought or language, *nor is he permitted to do so*. I suppose an analogue would be the columnist who wrote one sentence praising any aspect of Hitler's character. Whatever else he went on to write, he would run the risk, in hostile circles, of being the man who praised Hitler, even as Joe Sobran became the man who praised *Instauration* (as I remain, in some quarters, the man who praised Joe McCarthy). A very strong case can be made, has been made, for evaluating the oeuvre of Ezra Pound without the compunction to critical immobilization upon encountering the anti-Semitic line. Ironically, Pound himself wrote that everyone's ideas should be judged one at a time. A columnist can't reasonably expect such treatment. Politicians, many of whom outlast critical writers, sometimes outpace the black little cloud over their heads. Many Southern segregationists got by, most conspicuously George Wallace, as the passage of time washed away their earlier positions. Churchill had a line or two praising the early Hitler, and Truman said, "I like old Joe Stalin." But they went on to spend most of their public lives fighting totalitarianism, even as columnist James Jackson Kilpatrick, who early on defied the civil-rights laws and their implications, has spent 25 years arguing the contrary position. Joe Sobran hasn't the equivalent opportunity. Having concluded (correctly, I like to think) that anti-Semitism in America is not threatening to American Jews in its shabby old uniform, he is not likely to have the opportunity to do spectacular service for the cause of Judaeo-Christian comity, by emerging as a fighter against a prejudice that no longer threatens. He isn't likely to have any dramatic opportunity to compensate for his isolatable enthusiasm (a single column) for a thoroughly racist screed. I expect it would be quoted against him if he perished on the Golan Heights, planting there the flag of Israel, in the manner of the great tableau on Iwo Jima.

The question naturally then arises whether the gestating anti-Semite has gradually become fixated on the subject of Israel, whose every act at the bargaining table, in the West Bank, in Lebanon, advances the fetal little monster toward untethered life. Sobran has a very difficult time of it. It is a common casualty of the world of polemics that critics don't always have the time, or take it if they do, for patient, detailed inquiry. Such inattentions to detail breed licentiousness. Sobran has written that "Israel is a deeply anti-Christian country; it has even eliminated the plus sign from math textbooks because the plus sign (yes, this: +) looks like a cross! Yet Israel depends on American Christians for tax money and tourism, so it has to mute this theme for foreign consumption." It is true that some hyper-Orthodox Jewish sects oppose the use of the plus sign. But the taboo is not generally exercised in Israel. Besides which, there is the undistributed middle in the syllogistic sequence. American taxpayers who give money to Israel give money for a *Jewish homeland* where it ought not to be expected that Orthodox Jews should respect the cross. For them the identifying profanation is, inevitably, the cross. American Christians who visit Israel do so for the most part as pilgrims going to the Holy Land. Jewish custodians of the Holy Land sites have never interfered with Christians who go to venerate. The distinctions are lost in Sobran's analysis. Israel's "prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, is the former head of the Stern Gang, an assassin himself; it's rather as if Jimmy Hoffa had been elected President of the United States." The analogy is a Trojan horse, demolishing Joe's point. Hoffa led a movement designed to give him autocratic control of a labor union. Shamir participated in a paramilitary movement, often bloody, designed to realize a great ethnic–religious–historical dream. That they both used guns no more fuses them morally than the Green Berets and John Dillinger become one because both used guns.

In another column, Sobran wrote that Pulitzer Prize–winning Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times* had been suppressed by the editors when he "wrote a path-breaking story describing the massive Israeli bombing of Beirut as 'indiscriminate.'" I found this difficult to believe when I read the column, and called Friedman, who told me hastily (he could not stay long on the telephone, because Rosh Hashanah was closing in) that the allegation was in all important respects incorrect, as recorded in an article he had written for the *Columbia Journalism Review*. He would be glad, he said, to give the whole story to anyone I designated. I wrote to Joe advising him of Friedman's correction and relaying Friedman's invitation. It was a long time before Joe referred to this letter. "When you impugn my 'factual accuracy,' you hit a sore spot. I got my version of Friedman from a couple of conversations, and lazily didn't track the facts down to make sure. I take your word for it; and I'd have called on Friedman if I just hadn't been so damned overwhelmed at the time. Mea culpa." Let's face it, a juror could reasonably conclude that Joe is not industriously curious to uncover refutations of his burgeoning case against Israel.

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A week or so earlier, Sobran had cited a book, *By Way of Deception: A Devastating Insider's Portrait of the Mossad*, by Victor Ostrovsky (the book, it transpired within a matter of months, is of dubious reliability), that alleged that Israeli intelligence had discovered *before* the fateful act that Syrian terrorists were planning to stage the attack that killed 241 U.S. Marines in Lebanon in 1983. Shamir, he wrote a few months later, is an "unreconstructed thug." There are more illuminating ways to communicate what one wants to communicate about Shamir, however negative. "The Israeli state does not recognize intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews as valid, which means that Israel's Jews as well as its Arabs are denied some of the rights we take for granted here." That isn't exactly correct. Israel, as a Jewish state, will not issue a license to a Jew to marry a non-Jew. But an intermarriage transacted abroad (e.g., in Cyprus or Rhodes) yields equal rights to the couple on their return to Israel. "Though Israel doesn't have a formal constitution, it does have what it calls its Basic Law, under which Jews are more equal than others. Israel's High Court has ruled that the Basic Law actually precludes equal rights for non-Jews. 'It is necessary,' the court says, 'to prevent a Jew or Arab who calls for equality of rights for Arabs from sitting in the Knesset or being elected to it.' And even if a Jewish majority passed a law extending full rights to non-Jews, such a law would be invalid." It is difficult to comment on this because although laws passed by the Knesset are binding, it is true that laws defying the Torah are unlikely to get passed. What results, in a Jewish state with secular interests, is a congeries of paradoxes, like that of the mixed marriage contracted abroad. Another is the right of return of the Jew—and his non-Jewish relatives. An estimated 30 per cent of the Russian immigrants are related to Jews, but not themselves Jewish. They will enjoy identical rights.

In another column, Sobran writes, "John Kifner of the *New York Times* sums up his [Kahane's] position shrewdly: 'Jewish philosophy, Rabbi Kahane contended, was never based on Western democratic principles, but on Jewish ritual law, which he said forbade close contact with non-Jews.'" Kahane was a fanatic, Sobran explained. "At the same time, he had enough empathy (he called it 'respect,' though that was stretching a point) for the Palestinians to understand that they would never be content to be semi-citizens of a Jewish state. In that sense [Kahane] was neither a fool nor a hater—just a keen-witted fanatic. His blunt conclusion formed the title of one of his books: *They Must Go*. He even hinted that violence against liberal Jews would be a 'mitzvah,' or good deed; they called him a Nazi, but in his own eyes he was being truer to authentic Judaism than they were."

It is simply unrealistic to conclude that Joe is here suggesting anything other than that Kahane may have the truer insight into authentic Jewish theology—which position might be defended by here and there a Jewish theologian, but as applied to contemporary Judaic practice is self-evidently irrelevant, even as the suggestion that the late, excommunicate Father Leonard Feeney of Boston (who preached the necessary damnation of unbelievers) was in fact the most authentic spokesman of the true Catholic faith is self-evidently false. Kahane's position was seen by the overwhelming majority of Jews as a narrow and extreme projection of Jewish law, and there is no serious movement to press his demand that the Israeli Arabs be expelled.

The Great Bifurcation

IF WE WERE searching out theological genes that sired current tensions within Judaeo-Christianity, it is obvious that the great bifurcation came with the advent of Jesus, who is called a prophet by Jews but also, in the nature of the situation as viewed by Jewish orthodoxy, an impostor; while the Christian venerates Jesus as the Incarnation. The Roman church, which is senior in respect of religious taxonomy in the Western world, does not regard Judaism merely as schismatic, like the Eastern Orthodox Church, nor even, like the Protestant denominations, as heretical. The Jews—never having been Christians—are removed one step further: on the negative side, they are "invincibly ignorant," refusing to acknowledge the truths of the Christian Gospel. On the positive side, they are the people of the First Covenant, presaging the Second. And if Jesus built his Church upon a Rock, that Rock sat solidly on the ground of Judaism. Joe Sobran is suggesting that there is something to be said for Rabbi Kahane's reading of the necessary derivative relationship between Christian and Jew. If he is right, then of course Kahane's anti-Christianity postulates a complementary anti-Judaism.

In April 1986 Joe's column read, "Although the great Jewish theologian Moses Maimonides insisted that it was as wrong to kill a gentile as a Jew, it seems strange that this should ever have been a matter of controversy, and Maimonides was in some quarters regarded as a heretic. The Yiddish word for gentile, 'goy,' is contemptuous; 'goyishkopf'—literally, 'gentile-headed'—means 'stupid.'" This is breakaway definitional polemicism, inasmuch as "goy" means, simply, "Gentile" and, to the extent that, historically, it has been used to denote those-who-are-not-of-the-true-faith, is no more invidious than any other interreligious sequestration. It is as fair to say that "goy" is inherently invidious as it is to say that "Jew" is invidious.*

Joe dwelled often on the American, Jonathan Pollard, who spied for Israel. He acknowledged that the government of Israel insisted that the spying in America had been done outside its knowledge; Joe dismissed this denial as perfunctory and implausible, and belabored the Israeli government, denouncing it as a fickle friend of the United States.

Friendly nations do not spy on one another is the—

*A Jewish scholar advises me that "goy" can be and often is used disparagingly, as in, "a real goy." He points out that probably the incidence of "goy" being used disparagingly by Jews is about equal to the incidence of "Jew" being used disparagingly by Gentiles.

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problematical—premise here. I myself hope the United States has spies in every country whose policies are of vital concern to us, whatever the temperature of our fraternal diplomatic relations with one another. I hope we have a spy or two operating in Israel, given our intimate concern to know everything that can be known about Israel's strategy. It would be something entirely different if Israel had turned U.S. secrets over to the Soviet Union. Joe did not make that charge. Seymour Hersh subsequently did, relying in his book *The Samson Option* on testimony given by someone widely thought to be a confidence man.

Does Anyone Agree?

WHEN I announced, with the backing of my colleagues, NATIONAL REVIEW's dissociation from Joe Sobran's columns, the reactions were varied enough themselves to motivate an inquiry into the current understanding of anti-Semitism. Listen, at one end, to Richard Cohen. He wrote in his column for the *Washington Post*:

> Buckley, in an extraordinary move, has dissociated himself in the NATIONAL REVIEW from Sobran's writings but not—note—from Sobran himself. He remains one of the *Review*'s three senior editors.
>
> What Buckley does is important. As the founding editor of the nation's most influential conservative journal and as both the friend and ideological mentor of President Reagan, Buckley is a figure conservatives look to for cues. Anti-Semitism is infecting attitudes toward the Middle East, and Buckley is in a position to say what is and what is not permitted . . . from his friend and colleague. His is a painful task. But one can fairly ask how the Joe Sobran–Bill Buckley relationship is, in essence, different from the one Jesse Jackson had with the Rev. Louis Farrakhan. Jackson initially went the Buckley route and dissociated himself from Farrakhan's statements. Finally, when others pointed out that those statements reflected the man, he severed the relationship entirely. [Comment: Jesse Jackson was running for President. The criteria that govern personal conduct are dominated by that consideration. Dwight Eisenhower deserted George Marshall in order to enhance his prospects of winning the White House. Editors are under stresses of a more reflective nature.]
>
> . . . Buckley himself rejects particular Sobran writings, but embraces the whole man. But anti-Semitism can be deduced from the way a person conducts himself. In Sobran's case, the conduct in question is his writings, and those put his anti-Semitism beyond doubt. . . .
>
> As Buckley notes, American conservatism has come a long way since it was polluted by anti-Semitism—and some of the credit is his. But the continued presence of Sobran on the masthead of America's most influential conservative magazine is a step backward. Sobran is no martyr to the hair-trigger sensitivities of Jews but a victim of his own poison pen. Reconsider, Bill Buckley, before Sobran's ink stains your own cause.

Occupying the middle ground was, for example, Professor Paul Gottfried (himself Jewish), who wrote to *The New Republic*: ". . . some neoconservatives reacted hysterically—even opportunistically—to Joe Sobran's observations about American Jews. But I do not believe that Sobran is blameless in this particular matter. His remarks on the Jewish persecution of Christians [not here reproduced] reflect a woeful ignorance of history, and his praise of the neo-Nazi *Instauration* was inexcusably offensive."

At the what's-going-on-here? end was, for instance, Manuel Tellechea of the *New York City Tribune*, who predicted that Sobran would resign from NATIONAL REVIEW rather than accept the rebuke of his colleagues. More, "If Buckley truly believes Joseph Sobran not to be an anti-Semite, he should dismiss as either malicious or misinformed *anyone* who would so slander him, Jew or gentile. It is a debt he owes to friendship and to justice." Mr. Tellechea has an explanation for my misbehavior. "Buckley is a national icon. In fact, not a few liberals have had a sort of crush on him for years. 'He is a fascist, of course, but what a wonderful writer.' "

Therein the explanation! "Buckley is [would be?] a man of iron not to have succumbed to such entreaties. But because he is so accustomed to adoration and so above the fray, he does not understand that the criticism he weathers so easily, when directed at one such as Sobran, who is not a national icon and not particularly lovable, can wreck a man's career and leave his reputation in tatters. He shouldn't recommend to Sobran that he ignore his enemies, nor should Buckley ignore them. And, of course, he shouldn't give Sobran's adversaries even an inch of rope with which to hang him. Buckley, after all, believes in Sobran's innocence, doesn't he?"

The instinctive feel of the majority of the eighty-odd readers of NATIONAL REVIEW who wrote in was to wonder whether I had knuckled under to trendy pressures. I replied (perforce) by form letter, immediately acknowledging that this was the device I was necessarily driven to. My letter included the following sentences:

> I have read your letters, many of them surpassingly sensitive and intelligent, with great care. The general positions I adopted . . . reflect our considered judgment of the issues involved. Beyond reiterating this—we are bound, in the last analysis, to act with right reason, according to the dictates of conscience—there isn't anything I can usefully add. . . .
>
> I do hope that those of you most vexed will consider the possibility that you misread the editorial I wrote, and will do me the favor of rereading it.

A month or so later a letter from a rabbi. Daniel E. Lapin wrote from the Pacific Jewish Center in Venice, California:

> Mr. Buckley, I am not sure that I fully understand the fuss about Sobran. The writing of Richard Cohen et al. strikes me as disingenuous. Sobran's "Pensées" in *NR*, December 31, 1985, on the other hand, laid the foundations of a dozen sermons in my synagogue. As you may remember from our brief meeting when you spoke for Brandeis Bardin Institute in Los Angeles, my rabbinic credentials are adequate. . . . If there is any way I can be useful to you, Mr. Sobran, or NATIONAL REVIEW, I would be honored. Insofar as there is something called anti-Semitism (as opposed to anti-Godism), I just don't believe Mr. Sobran is one.

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The range of opinion on NATIONAL REVIEW and Joe Sobran ran, thus, the gamut.

Partial Resolution

FOUR YEARS later, in September 1990, after reading two pieces by him which I judged indefensible, I resolved wearily and sadly to dismiss Joe from the board of senior editors of NATIONAL REVIEW. I wrote out a personal letter:

> I read your column (9/20/90) last night, and this morning reread the piece you submitted to NATIONAL REVIEW ("Why NATIONAL REVIEW Is Wrong").
>
> I can only conclude that you can't stay on as a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW. You have made it plain that you are embarrassed by the positions we are taking [about the Iraq war and the need to move against Saddam Hussein by military force, positions motivated, Joe had said, primarily by the desire to help Israel]. I don't want to have to make plain how greatly embarrassed I am by the positions you are taking, but I am. Why don't you send in a letter of resignation as senior editor. Stay on as a contributor, if you wish. You know what I think of your talent, and I have to hope you have some idea of the sadness I feel about the turn of events.
>
> As ever affectionately . . .

I didn't send the letter. It was suddenly the season in which Pat Buchanan and Abe Rosenthal were locking horns on the subject of anti-Semitism and became the center of journalistic attention. I was persuaded by my colleagues that it would be a mistake to proceed against Joe on the eve of my resignation as editor-in-chief, distracting attention from *NR*'s 35th anniversary and its special edition, the subject of a thousand hours of labor.

Three months later—by which time Joe had become, for all intents and purposes, a member of the American pacifist movement—Joe agreed, most agreeably, to step down as senior editor, to occupy instead the position of critic-at-large, in which position he has no responsibility for editorial policy. And as such he writes for us, week after week, anthologizable copy about everything in the world west, south, north, and east of Tel Aviv.

The basic question—when does it become necessary formally to dissociate a journal from an editor's views that are not congruent—had been dealt with empirically. But not, to my satisfaction, the moral–sociological question that animates this inquiry:

What is anti-Semitism these days?

Part 2

PAT BUCHANAN

HERE IS WHAT Pat Buchanan actually said and did, or at least what he said and did that were the proximate causes of the explosion. On television (the McLaughlin program), he said: *"There are only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East—the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the United States."*

Later in the program he was more explicit, his purpose obviously being to emphasize the singular interest the Israelis and their friends had in stopping Saddam Hussein. *"The Israelis want this war desperately because they want the United States to destroy the Iraqi war machine. They want us to finish them off. They don't care about our relations with the Arab world."*

At this point nothing had been said that was anti-Semitic, let alone arrantly so. Any threatened nation is concerned for its own interests, over against which others' interests are understandably subordinate. What had been done, however, was to pronounce a massive inaccuracy, namely that "only" two specified groups favored military action against Hussein.

Any government will "beat the drums" to arouse opposition to its enemy, and therefore the Israeli government, in doing so, was engaged in conventional national activity. So unless Mr. Buchanan was prepared to define the "amen corner" of Israel as comprising approximately 75 per cent of the American people—that was the number the polls then told us were supporting Administration policies—he was deluding himself, or his listeners, or both. On the other hand, if he *had* quoted the extent of the public's support, he would have been suggesting that the Israelis manipulate 75 per cent of American public support even for causes that are strategically anti-American ("They don't care about our relations with the Arab world"). Inevitably, when an intelligent person makes an assertion that is manifestly absurd, he arouses suspicions.

Why Did He Do It?

WHY HE did it, some people concluded, was that he wished to draw attention to the exorbitant influence of the pro-Israel Jewish American community on foreign policy. If in fact there is huge sentiment out there to resist Saddam Hussein by the use of U.S. military force, then surely—it is his tacit premise—that sentiment was generated not by rational thought about containing aggressors in areas critical to Western commerce, but by the lobbying power of Israel. The listener will then find himself wondering whether it is right that so few should govern the emotions of so many. Curiosity of that kind can lead to resentment; and resentment can lead to hostility, informed or uninformed, to those who exercise such inordinate influence on U.S. public policy.

But Pat was on a roll. Again on television, he came in with the wisecrack that Congress was "Israeli-occupied" territory. Urbane newswatchers can't have objected to this hyperbole as uniquely invidious, given that such excesses are so often the idiom of polemics. A generation ago the Majority Leader of the Senate, William Knowland, was dubbed somewhere by someone as "the Senator from Formosa." This was thought to be amusing (actually, it was), reflecting as it did the belli-

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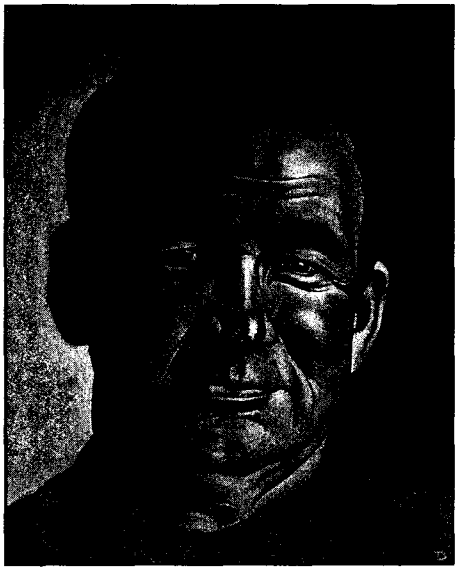
cose identification with a free Formosa (Taiwan) by Senator Knowland, a principal figure in a large public movement whose principal PAC was "The Committee of One Million against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations." No historian would credit Israel with having less influence in Congress today than Formosa had in 1953.

Still, it was all beginning to add up. Even as those who taunted Senator Knowland during the Fifties did so intending to generate sentiment against the government of Chiang Kai-shek, so any reference to Congress as "Israeli-occupied" territory can be taken as encouraging resentment against the Israeli lobby and its backers. Breeding hostility, etc.



PAT BUCHANAN

Buchanan did not at that point wade back into shallower water; on the contrary. Coincidentally with his reference to the amen corner, he pronounced the names of four important men who influence public policy, whom he identified with the hyperbellicose wing of the anti-Saddam forces. They were: A. M. Rosenthal, the columnist and former executive editor of the *New York Times*; Richard Perle, former assistant secretary of defense and a leader of the hawkish legions during the cold war; columnist Charles Krauthammer, an influential moral–political strategist, with Wilsonian internationalist inclinations; and Henry Kissinger. They have in common many things. But in the context of the polemical offensive by Buchanan, the most conspicuous of these is that they are all Jewish. This common denominator assaults the analytical mind in a way it wouldn't if the four strategists had been *uniquely* identifiable as advocates of a tough line against Saddam Hussein. But A. M. Rosenthal, columnist, was no more belligerent on the Hussein issue than James Jackson Kilpatrick, also a columnist; Richard Perle no more than Frank Gaffney, his former colleague; Charles Krauthammer no more than George Will; and Henry Kissinger no more than one of his successors as secretary of state, Alexander Haig. Four Christians.

The evidence that the Jewish factor was engrossing Buchanan mounted. And then whatever coincidence might in desperation have been pleaded for this aggregation of all-Jewish anti-Hussein activists, its usefulness expired when Pat Buchanan went on to write that if we went to war, the fighting would be done by "kids with names like McAllister, Murphy, Gonzales, and Leroy Brown." There is no way to read that sentence without concluding that Pat Buchanan was suggesting that American Jews manage to avoid personal military exposure even while advancing military policies they (uniquely?) engender.

I see no other explanation for it. Perhaps it was done impulsively. The iconoclastic daemon having a night out on the town? In that case it is a pity that, after Abe Rosenthal exploded and the quarrel between them became a national engagement, Buchanan told a reporter from *Time* magazine, "I don't retract a single word."

Rosenthal Strikes Back

WHAT HAPPENED three weeks later—and the three-week interval became something of a side-issue, having to do with the organization of the Jewish lobby—was the column by A. M. Rosenthal. It was extreme in its conclusions, and the moment is appropriate in this essay to look at what I wrote about the controversy on September 17, 1990, three days after the Rosenthal column appeared. I will repeat here that much of the column as is relevant to this narrative:

> The hot talk . . . is of Abe Rosenthal's column in the *New York Times* (September 14) in which he, well, reads Pat Buchanan out of civilized society. What he says, flatly, is that Buchanan's statements about the U.S. intervention in Saudi Arabia, combined with other positions he has taken dating back to his defense of President Reagan's visit to Bitburg, are the work of an anti-Semitic mind. He goes so far as to suggest that the kind of thing Mr. Buchanan says can lead to Auschwitz, and that he, Rosenthal, isn't going to let him get away with it, because he is guided by a famous moral injunction, delivered by Jesus on the Cross, on which Mr. Rosenthal improvises exactly to reverse its meaning, which becomes now, "Forgive them not, Father, for they know what they did."
>
> . . . I write as a friend of both, though I have experienced A. M. Rosenthal, as it happens, ten times as frequently as Pat Buchanan, notwithstanding that Mr. Buchanan and I have occupied the same ideological foxhole since he became old enough to bear arms. I need to say this about the two gentlemen. About Mr. Rosenthal, that he has always walked about in rooms in which customized trip-wires wait confidently to ignite his footloose emotional gyrations: and when he comes upon them, the resulting explosion knows no conventional limits. I deem his attack on Pat Buchanan to be an example of: Rosenthal, gone ballistic.
>
> And I deem Pat Buchanan to be insensitive to those fine lines that tend publicly to define racially or ethnically offensive analysis or rhetoric. This is best described by illustration. If Scholar A, spending a lifetime in psychometric anthropology, concludes that black Americans weigh in 15 points behind white Americans in conventional IQ tests, he runs a certain risk in publicizing his findings, though only the Know Nothings will denounce him as a racist for [doing so]. If, however, having done so he accepts an invitation to speak at a rally advocating an end to forced busing on the grounds that he is impelled by his findings to oppose the dilution of educational quality, sensitive moral calibrators are likely to suspect, even if they cannot successfully reason to

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that conclusion, that Scholar A is actively engaged in advocating invidious racial policies.

Every one of Pat Buchanan's positions touching on Israel, weighed discretely, [is defensible]—until his most recent one. It is unquestionably the case that Israel's political influence is out of proportion to Israel's strategic importance to the United States. It is certainly arguable that Mr. Reagan's decision to visit Bitburg was in the circumstances prudent. And it is conceivable that the defendant Demjanjuk, recently tried in Israel as a war criminal, is actually the wrong man. But these antecedent positions, joined now with Buchanan's statement, "There are only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East—the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the United States," invite a cumulative judgment. One is that Buchanan reveals himself as an arrant anti-Semite—Rosenthal's verdict; the second (the overwhelming favorite), that Pat Buchanan is attracted to mischievous generalizations.

It is simply a fact that independent analysts, who are neither Jewish nor Israel-bonded, enthusiastically endorse Mr. Bush's policies. The same day that Rosenthal wrote, Buchanan also wrote—a column in which he recorded that "Among those cheering loudest the 'new international order' is the conservative NATIONAL REVIEW, our old friends and new critics, who dismiss us now as 'Bug Out, America' types, for resisting their call for air strikes and pre-emptive war against Iraq."

I concluded my column with a paragraph that can only be characterized, and perhaps excused, as a Moral Peroration. My uneasiness with the points it leaves unexplored prompted this further investigation. I concluded:

> The Buchanans need to understand the nature of sensibilities in an age that coexisted with Auschwitz. And the Rosenthals need to understand that clumsy forensic manners are less than a genocidal offense, and that when Christ pleaded for forgiveness for his executioners, He asked it on behalf of those who were blinded into doing the wrong thing. No one asked for that kind of forgiveness for the Nazis, and Pat Buchanan's trespasses are miles this side of the awful genocidal line in the sand.

What seemed like everybody then got into the act.

The Anti-Buchanan Case

CRITICS OF BUCHANAN seemed eager to document that in laying special emphasis on the political motives of Mr. Bush's anti-Saddam policies, Buchanan was merely reiterating an ancient complaint against the power of the Israeli lobby. In recent years and months Buchanan seemed to have been attracted one after another to positions in which Jews had a special interest, almost always taking the contrary position. A summary of these was done by Joshua Muravchik, a scholar with the American Enterprise Institute. It was published in *Commentary* in January 1991, in an article entitled, "Patrick J. Buchanan and the Jews." His article was attacked vigorously and at substantial length in the letters column in an ensuing issue of *Commentary*, but Muravchik's subsequent defenses were mostly persuasive.

It is a lengthy article (about nine thousand words), 1) describing every position taken by Buchanan over the recent past that has attracted the attention of the anti-anti-Semites, and 2) analyzing the reasons Buchanan has given, when he has given any, for taking such positions. Muravchik closed his long essay by making a point that can't be ignored in an inquiry seeking to explore personal motivations. He cites Buchanan's complaint that " 'decent and honorable men, Left as well as Right, [have] had careers damaged and reputations smeared' by the accusation of anti-Semitism. Buchanan," Muravchik comments, "has not replied to my letters asking whom on the Left he had in mind, but in recent times public charges of anti-Semitism have been made in a sustained way against only two figures on the Left, Jesse Jackson and Gore Vidal. What can move Buchanan to such tenderness toward the likes of these two who, the Jewish question aside, represent everything he despises?"

Now Mr. Muravchik's point is in one way perplexing. If he is saying that Buchanan is dismayed by unfair attacks even on figures on the Left whom he dislikes or disapproves of, then he is paying Mr. Buchanan a compliment for deploring undeserved inferences even when at the expense of leftist victims, but clearly Muravchik was not intending to do so. If he is suggesting that the Right, rather than the Left, is more greatly disposed nowadays to anti-Semitic thought, I think he is wrong. Most probably, he is merely challenging Buchanan's bona fides.

In analyzing Buchanan's defenses, he brought up the singling out of four prominent Jewish geostrategists as distinctive in their support of George Bush's anti–Saddam Hussein program:

> Buchanan tried to argue that his litany of those seeking war in the Gulf consisted of Jewish names merely because his debate was with the "neoconservatives," many of whom are Jewish. But why is Buchanan spoiling for a fight with the neoconservatives? The alliance between them and traditional conservatives like him has been based largely on foreign policy, which he himself says is the most important of all issues. And although the collapse of Soviet power heralds a new era in foreign policy, Buchanan remains at one with many neoconservatives in believing that Communism—their common foe—is not yet finished. Is Buchanan attacking Jews, then, because they happen to be neoconservatives, or is he attacking neoconservatives because they happen to be Jews?

This is not an easy question for defenders of Pat Buchanan to handle, though he is hardly the only conservative who bitterly attacks neoconservatives without making it exactly clear why. And Muravchik is unanswerable on the particular point, namely that to the extent that one's interest is anti-Communist foreign policy, the neoconservatives have been indispensable allies. But on to the closing paragraph in Muravchik's attack:

> Both the *New York Post* editorialist and Jacob Weisberg in his article in *The New Republic* said that they did not

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want to get into a "semantic" squabble over "anti-Semitism," and indeed there may be no authoritative definition of the term. [Correct: there is not, there never can be: but attempts at periodic clarification are not a wasted effort.] But when a man falsely maintains that he is the victim of a "pre-planned orchestrated smear campaign" by the Anti-Defamation League [see below: 1) not pre-planned, 2) not self-evidently a smear; on the other hand, 3) very definitely orchestrated]; when he is hostile to Israel; when he embraces the PLO despite being at adamant odds with its political philosophy; when he implies that Jews are trying to drag America into war for the sake of Israel [alone]; when he sprinkles his columns with taunting remarks about things Jewish; when he stirs the pot of intercommunal hostility; when he rallies to the defense of Nazi war criminals, not only those who protest their innocence but also those who confess their guilt; when he implies that the generally accepted interpretation of the Holocaust might be a serious exaggeration—when a man does all these things, surely it is reasonable to conclude that his actions make a fairly good match for [conventional anti-Semitism].

The Pro-Buchanan Case

THE DEFENDERS of Pat Buchanan were in one respect unanimous: without any exception that I have seen, everyone who has known and worked with him dismisses the charge that in his personal behavior Buchanan has ever shown any animosity whatever to Jews. On this point, Muravchik commented, "They [defenders of Buchanan] do not understand that anti-Semitism comes in a variety of forms. One variant, what we might call country club prejudice, consists in an aversion to associating with Jews, but may entail no particular political content. On the other side, political anti-Semitism holds 'the Jews' culpable of miscreancy, but may entail no dislike for this or that individual Jew. The latter type is infinitely more dangerous."

Robert Novak, answering the vigorous anti-Buchanan article in *The American Spectator* by David Frum of the *Wall Street Journal*, put it this way: "[Frum's] is a wicked caricature that bears no resemblance to the Pat Buchanan I have known for over twenty years as a news source, a colleague, and a friend. Personally, he is a man of unfailing good manners and discretion who does not faintly resemble Frum's ruffian. Professionally, his self-discipline enabled him to perform with strict restraint in two hitches as a White House aide and with unvarying fairness as a moderator on CNN's *Capital Gang*. . . . Buchanan is no anti-Semite, as anybody who knows him well will avow."

Buchanan's defenders can be seen to be reasoning roughly as follows: a) Anti-Semitism is a disgraceful mindset. b) Pat Buchanan, given his exemplary character, has no disgraceful mindsets. Therefore, c) it has to be wrong to say of him that he is anti-Semitic.

This is to reason *a priori*, and there has seldom in modern controversy been a clearer case of a collision course between the two structures of logical thought. *A posteriori* reasoning would take what was said or written and reason to the mindset of the person who wrote those words, in this case excluding any possibility other than that they were motivated either a) by ignorance or b) by the desire to taunt or to express hostility. *Time* magazine's reviewer tended toward the second alternative—"What set them off," wrote William A. Henry III of Rosenthal et al., "was a typical Buchanan crack, which wrapped a core of fact in a coating of hyperbole." But Henry would go no further on the central question than to say that "for years Buchanan has appeared to go out of his way to rile Jewish sensitivities." David Frum, replying to Robert Novak, did so with some exasperation: "It is simply bizarre to suggest—as Robert Novak seems to—that it is unfair to judge a writer by his writings. Patrick Buchanan has put millions of words into print; if the essence of the man is to be found anywhere it is there, and not in his friends' polite comments about what an affable chap he is."

But if it is indeed anti-Semitism, or iconoclasm, is it obsessive, or merely passing misfancy? Novak had made a vulnerable point when he wrote that Buchanan has after all written millions of words that do not even touch on Jewish questions (the classic antecedent of this form of casuistry is the legendary Irishman being tried for murder who volunteers to bring in thirty people who did *not* see him commit the crime). As might have been expected, defenders of Buchanan made much of the excesses of Abe Rosenthal, Novak going so far as to blame him directly for the general onslaught ("Abe Rosenthal's infamous *New York Times* column triggered the campaign suddenly defaming Buchanan as anti-Semitic").

This charge—that Rosenthal triggered the general reaction—was, up to a point (one or two other critics had here and there gone after Buchanan on similar grounds), chronologically correct, but ultimately irrelevant. You can accuse someone of doing more than he actually did and still take credit for being the first to point out an iniquity. What troubled so many—perhaps most of the critical community who feel that they have an intellectual and moral stake in the questions posed—was the failure to resolve the relevant questions raised. This is clearly seen merely by examining the letters section of *Commentary* cited above (May 1991), after the attack by Muravchik, or of *The American Spectator* (September 1991), after the attack by David Frum. Although most of those who wrote in were violent partisans either of Buchanan or of his critics, what happened in those letters pages was not an example of thesis and antithesis producing resolution. Instead, one walked away from a reading of the collection with a heavy heart over the moral confusion: Just what are we dealing with here?

Was Buchanan a Corporate Target?

IT CAME AS something of a shock to the Buchanan camp when the *New York Post* (which prominently runs Buchanan's columns) defended Rosenthal. "When it comes to Jews as a group—not Israel, not U.S.–Israeli relations, not individual Jews—Buchanan

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betrays an all-too-familiar hostility. [Correction: It was not "all too familiar." That Buchanan had over the years taken positions opposed to those of organized Jewry surprised most people.] A. M. Rosenthal did not produce a 'contract hit.' [It wasn't strictly a "contract hit," but as we shall see, it transpired that he had received a docket of sorts on Buchanan.] He [Rosenthal] faced some painful facts."

The question whether Rosenthal's attack triggered the ensuing general attack is in any event irrelevant (except to the question of how organized are the anti-anti-Semitic forces). Rosenthal's having called attention to a transgression does not make him responsible for a transgression of his own except insofar as he went beyond whistle-blowing to make charges that were themselves indefensible. On the matter of why did Rosenthal blow the whistle, the *Washington Times*'s Ralph Hallow asked the question most directly—Why had no other columnist or commentator gone after Mr. Buchanan as an anti-Semite? "[Rosenthal] responded that he has been receiving many calls from 'people in our business who said they agree with me and that what I did was courageous.' He said these same people told him they had been afraid to attack Mr. Buchanan because he is widely published, appears on television, is written about abroad, and has lots of friends who defend him. [This is not inherently believable. It isn't dangerous, so far as one can see, to attack someone as an anti-Semite if the case against him is at least plausible.] [Rosenthal concluded], 'I didn't attack him because of what he said about Israel or Iraq but because he put it in anti-Semitic language.' "

ABE ROSENTHAL

The question quickly—and logically—arose, and was widely asked: Just how long had this kind of thing been going on in Pat Buchanan's forum? *Heritage*, a weekly newspaper in Los Angeles, ran an editorial referring to Buchanan as the "glib-tongued anti-Semite who was denounced by *New York Times* writer A. M. Rosenthal, for his nastiness and ugliness."* Such language suggests that Buchanan's anti-Semitism had been as much a part of the forensic landscape as, say, Martin Peretz's philo-Semitism. *The New Republic* editorialized (September 15): "Buchanan-watchers, students of prejudice in America, and political teratologists have known of Buchanan's anti-Semitism for years." And added, preemptively, a defense against a point that would be raised widely in the days ahead by Buchanan's defenders: "No, he is not like Hitler. Hitler, however, cannot be allowed to set the standard. Lesser bigots cannot be protected from criticism by the magnitude of Hitler's achievements in bigotry."

The point is well taken. One need not, in order to qualify as an anti-Semite, defend the Holocaust or cry out for another one. David Harris, the director of the American Jewish Committee's Office of Government and International Affairs, wrote that "Buchanan's venomous streak, which knows no bounds, cannot be ignored," which of course begs the question why it was for the most part ignored until Rosenthal struck. Jack Newfield, writing for the *New York Observer*, said that "Mr. Buchanan's pathological hostility to Jews has been obvious to Jews like myself for many years. I have written about it in *The Village Voice* and the *Daily News*." One can only assume that these attacks on Buchanan, Anti-Semite, hadn't been read by anybody who took them seriously. Newfield went on, "Pat Buchanan and Joe Sobran are way over the line when it comes to religious, racial, ethnic, and sexual bigotry. They are hatemongers."†

The New Republic's Fred Barnes tried to clarify the simple point: Is Buchanan, based on his writings, an anti-Semite? "If your definition is someone who is personally bigoted against Jews, doesn't want them in the country club, I don't think Pat is that. If your definition is someone who thinks Israel and its supporters are playing a bad role in the world, Pat may qualify."

The Special Role of Israel

AGAIN AND AGAIN the issue of attachment-to-Israel as the litmus test arises. Elie Wiesel said to the *Washington Post*, "Although I very rarely use the word 'anti-Semite,' I must say [Pat Buchanan] comes very close to fitting that category." Wiesel goes on to list the now-familiar compilation of Buchanan's presumptively anti-Jewish positions, and includes "a man who is constantly criticizing Israel."

Allan Brownfeld, a syndicated columnist who is himself Jewish, wrote on the question in the January 1991 *Chronicles*, reaching very different conclusions from the critics, some of them highly provocative. On the matter of Israel fixation he is emphatic:

*The succeeding sentence: "And when a William F. Buckley leaned back on his guru couch to defend Buchanan with his own excessive pompous smugness, one can only say: ach!"

†Just as Rosenthal had overdone it in the language he used in attacking Buchanan, Newfield now overdid it (it is rare, among those who write heatedly about racial prejudice, that whistle-blowers restrain their own prejudices). Thus Newfield, so to speak out of the blue: "George Will is a slightly more complex and ambiguous case. If he is not quite a bigot, then he certainly traffics in anti-black stereotypes of a particularly partisan and insulting kind. Mr. Will seems to plagiarize his metaphors from the unconscious of Roger Ailes. He is no Walter Lippmann. He is more like his former employer Jesse Helms." The least inaccuracy in these sentences is that George Will once worked for Jesse Helms.

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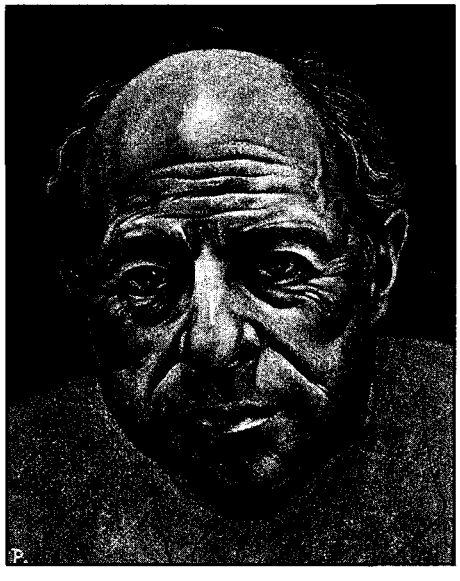
Today, anti-Semitism in America has been redefined as anything that opposes the politics and interests of the state of Israel. One cannot be critical of the Israeli prime minister, concerned about the question of the Palestinians, or dubious about the value of massive infusions of American aid to Israel without subjecting oneself to the possibility of being called "anti-Semitic."

Brownfeld cites the book *The New Anti-Semitism*, by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League, and says:

> The new definition includes "a callous indifference to Jewish concerns expressed by respectable institutions and persons . . . who would be shocked to think of themselves as anti-Semites." [Here is a classic example of circular reasoning: Henceforth, anyone who takes position A shall *eo ipso* be deemed an anti-Semite. X has just now taken position A. X is therefore now an anti-Semite.]
>
> Thus, the nature of the "new" anti-Semitism, according to Forster and Epstein, is not necessarily hostility to Jews as Jews or toward Judaism—which all men and women of good will deplore—but, instead, criticism of Israel and its policies.
>
> In a June 5, 1983, *Washington Post* article entitled "Anti-Semitism Has Changed," [the late] Nathan Perlmutter, then national chairman of the ADL, expanded upon this thesis. He noted that the search for peace in the Middle East is "littered with minefields that endanger Jewish interests" and declared that the "fevered language" used by the media in describing Israeli actions during the invasion of Lebanon illustrated "how decent yearnings for 'peace' in an alchemy of historical ignorance, and hyperbole, stir anti-Semitic imagery."
>
> One of those who [have] freely used the charge of anti-Semitism to silence critics of Israel is Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*. In an article entitled "J'Accuse" [*Commentary*, September 1982], he charged America's leading journalists, newspapers, and television networks with anti-Semitism because of their reporting of the war of Lebanon and their criticism of Israel's conduct. Among those so accused were Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*, Nicholas von Hoffman, . . . Joseph Harsch of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Rowland Evans, Robert Novak, Richard Cohen, and Alfred Friendly of the *Washington Post*, and a host of others. Of the criticism of Israel by these journalists, many of whom were Jewish themselves, Podhoretz declared: "We are dealing here with an eruption of anti-Semitism."



NORMAN PODHORETZ

The episode to which Brownfeld refers is well remembered by readers of *Commentary*. It was the general judgment of the concerned community (I was among the critics, devoting a column to the subject) that Podhoretz's fears and condemnations were exaggerated, but in that respect he was hardly exceptional—the Israeli military offensive aroused high passions. Mr. Podhoretz on this occasion classified as anti-Semitic anyone who ascribes to Jews characteristics uniquely Jewish or, correlatively, denies to Jews rights acknowledged in others. His particular point being that Israel's attack on Lebanon was justified by the conventional rights that inure to beleaguered countries, and that therefore to have singled Israel out for criticism, when others in similar circumstances would escape criticism, was anti-Semitic.

The point is logically sound, but even so doesn't answer the broader question whether anti-Semitism was the presumptive prime mover in those who criticized Israeli practices. Brownfeld is justified in his exploration. He goes on to search out Israeli anti-Semitism:

> Norman Podhoretz was also willing to attack Israeli critics of Israel's policy in Lebanon, and did so publicly at the March 1986 International Colloquium of Jewish Journalists. The Jerusalem meeting focused on whether Jewish journalists in general and Israeli journalists in particular have a special obligation of restraint in reporting controversial aspects of Israeli life. Writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, columnist Moshe Kohn reported: "The debate was led off by Norman Podhoretz . . . He opened by laying down the 'axiom' that 'the preservation of the Jewish people involves above all else ensuring the survival of Israel.' From this, he said, follows a second axiom: 'It is in Diaspora Jewry's own self-interest to man the ramparts in the relentless ideological war being waged against Israel,' which, he said, 'I take to be a war against the Jewish people as a whole.' So 'the role of Jews who write in both the Jewish and general press is to defend Israel, and not to join in the attack on Israel.' "

According to Brownfeld, Podhoretz was grilled on the spot.

> Mr. Podhoretz admitted that Jews have a right to criticize. However, when asked if he could think of an Israeli action of which he might [I assume he meant, publicly] disapprove, he declared, "The only decision by Israel that I know I'd criticize publicly would be one to join a Communist alliance."

The point to ponder here isn't whether some of Israel's friends are uncritical to the point of losing their usefulness even to Israel. (*My country right or wrong, but right or wrong my country* is emotionally understandable when the fatherland is threatened, but less often sound advice for a patriot.) Our inquiry is into the organic composition of anti-Semitism. Having written in 1991 about a Podhoretz excess in 1982, Mr. Brownfeld would, one would assume, feel the responsibility to cite examples of Podhoretz's irrationality in leveling the charge of anti-Semitism with reference to the new criterion. But in his article for *Chronicles* he doesn't do this. Evidently he deems sufficient his citation of Norman Podhoretz's 1982 article. Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the deportment of its army posed complicated

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questions and in 1982 generated much criticism of Israel's government. We are better off ignoring that divisive episode to concentrate on the implications of the later Podhoretz speech as judged by his own conduct. Does he in fact proceed as if any critic of Israeli policy, Jewish or Gentile, is *eo ipso* anti-Semitic? Logically we begin by asking, How did he react to the Buchanan–Rosenthal exchange?

Podhoretz reacted by publishing the long piece by Muravchik, described above. Nowhere in that lengthy essay is any demand made of Buchanan (or of anyone else) that is manifestly irrational. That is to say, it is nowhere assumed that mere opposition to an Israeli policy constitutes anti-Semitism. Since Mr. Podhoretz, in the nine years since 1982, hasn't left a trail of imputations of anti-Semitism against everyone who criticizes Israeli policy, we should assume that Podhoretz's speech in Israel, coming to us third hand, contained qualifications, either made explicitly and not recorded or else left implicit, that Mr. Brownfeld either is not aware of or else is disinclined to quote.

Even so, the point survives: Is criticism of Israel's policies a symptom of anti-Semitism, active or latent? It is almost universally agreed that this isn't so, and it is hard to maintain otherwise, if only because of the heated opposition within Israel itself to many Israeli public policies. But it is less clear whether the formal, organized American Jewish lobby stops short of assailing as anti-Semitic those whose only offense is opposition to this or that policy of Israel's.

What about the Jewish Lobby?

IT IS RELEVANT to inquire into the power of what one might just as well call the Jewish lobby. How much power does it have? If (*arguendo*) it were omnipotent, then it would be (should be) feared, if only for that reason: one doesn't want omnipotent lobbies arguing in behalf of anything, not even the Bill of Rights. Is it omnipotent? Nearly omnipotent? Dangerously potent?

It is almost everywhere implicit, and here and there explicit, that such lobbies are at work and, in the case of Pat Buchanan, that they have been at work hoping—well, hoping to silence him. To inquire whether they are so engaged is not to pass judgment on whether they are justified in being so engaged. There are those, J. S. Mill most prominent among them, who believe that so long as a single person clings to a belief, the question whether that belief might be correct should not be treated as closed. I think of that as the acme of epistemological pessimism, the seedling from which, among other things, that notion of academic freedom prospered which holds that all ideas should, in a famous phrase, "start out even in the race." (By that protocol, a college teacher should not indicate to a student reading the *Communist Manifesto* alongside the United States Constitution which of the two documents better harmonizes with democratic ideals.)

But forgetting for the moment those who believe that every point of view should be evenhandedly ventilated, the question to ask here is: In a civilized culture, should someone who is, in the opinion of the reasonable community, an anti-Semite be removed from public forums? This, obviously, not by the hand of the law, but by the exercise of a citizenry determined to discourage uncivilized and potentially dangerous thought. And if the answer to that question is, Indeed, such folk should *not* be given forums from which to preach their bigotries!—then who are the logical spokesmen for the public in urging their removal?

Where will the pressures originate? Not from legislatures, not while there is still a Bill of Rights. Whence, then?

Who? In response to pressures from whom? From the Israeli lobby? From watchdogs, like the Anti-Defamation League, that monitor racial slurs?

On whom should they put pressure? Editors and station managers and publishers? Book-sellers?

And what are the appropriate pressures, in the 1990s?

In 1945, superintending arrangements in West Germany, the victorious allies forthrightly and without apology forbade any pro-Nazi literature in the schools. As mentioned above in passing, we at NATIONAL REVIEW faced the problem in embryo in the Fifties. Ours was the nascent voice of responsible conservative thought. I had brought together men of immense learning and moral prestige, for instance John Dos Passos, Frank Meyer, Whittaker Chambers, Max Eastman, James Burnham. For a few months after leaving the CIA I had worked for *The American Mercury*, whose editor and publisher was William Bradford Huie, a bright and enterprising editor and novelist (*The Revolt of Mamie Stover*), one of whose causes became equality for Negroes, as they were then called. He lost control of the *Mercury*, and I left it. It was sold to Russell Maguire, a wealthy munitions maker who was, well, anti-Semitic. For two or three years he left the *Mercury*, untouched by his prejudices, in the hands of a Hearst lieutenant, but after a while the weeds began to creep up.

I faced the problem that a half-dozen respectable names from the conservative movement were still associated with the *Mercury*, as "consultants" or "contributing editors," and that some of those names appeared also on the masthead of NATIONAL REVIEW. After reading a particularly blatant issue of the *Mercury* (this was about 1958), I thought the time had come to act decisively, and accordingly addressed a note to the writers on the masthead of NATIONAL REVIEW and told them that those of them who were also on the masthead of the *Mercury* would need to choose from which masthead to retire. In almost all cases (there was only one exception), they stayed with us.*

Two or three years later, the *Mercury* was mortally stricken with advanced nativism. For a while, the wild

*A few years later I took an identical position about mastheads, this time in respect of the John Birch Society. The Birch Society was never anti-Semitic, but it was a dangerous distraction to right reasoning and had to be exiled. NATIONAL REVIEW accomplished exactly that.

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General Edwin Walker, who had been dismissed from his command in Europe for verbal irresponsibility, was made its editor. General Walker was supremely illiterate, which under the circumstances was a blessing. Some will remember that Lee Harvey Oswald, practicing for his big day on Dealey Plaza, aimed his rifle at General Walker one night, firing through a windowpane. (On that occasion, ironically, he missed.)

How Does One Block Anti-Semitism?

FORTY-FIVE YEARS after the death of Hitler, the penal code of Germany still forbids the *advocacy* of Nazi ideas, but not the distribution of Nazi literature, which presumably survives in Germany in the same sense that toxic cultures survive in laboratories. My understanding is that no serious observer of the German scene believes there is anything like a clear or remote danger of any serious rebirth of a Nazi movement, though there is concern, in my judgment primarily moral rather than political, over suppurations here and there of neo-Nazism. Probably (this is my guess, at any rate) the incidental wigwam of a Nazi witch doctor would be ignored by the German government, rather than being destroyed and its owner prosecuted. If so, this is defensible civic conduct, taken by responsible men and women who while aware of the hideousness of what happened yesterday—more accurately, the day before yesterday—are confident that there is no prospect of its happening again; or else that the threat of any such thing is so remote as to fail to justify the kind of proscriptive vigilance thought to be appropriate in 1945.

On the question whether an anti-Semite should be given a forum in respectable company, David Frum has highly developed opinions, which he ventilated in that *American Spectator* article (July 1991). About Pat Buchanan he summarizes: "His real message is inseparable from his sly Jew-baiting and his not-so-sly queer-bashing, from his old record as a segregationist and his current maunderings about immigrants and the Japanese. And it's not a message that can be accommodated in any conservatism—Big Government or Small—that seriously hopes to govern a great and diverse country; in fact, it's exactly the kind of message that William F. Buckley thought he had purged from American conservatism back in the 1950s and early 1960s, when he chased Gerald L. K. Smith and the John Birchers away from NATIONAL REVIEW."

Very well, then, if the objective is ostracism, how is this operation managed? Is it primarily the responsibility of the Jewish, or anti-anti-Semitic, lobby?

During the controversy, Buchanan had asked out loud, Why was it that Rosenthal waited three whole weeks before firing back at him for the remarks he made on the McLaughlin show? Rosenthal talked vaguely, as we have seen, about friends who had brought the Buchanan material to his attention. In fact, as the story developed, it was rather more formal than that. "Rosenthal based his attack upon Buchanan on material provided to him—and other journalists around the country—by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith," Allan Brownfeld was able to document. "Abraham Foxman, National Director of the ADL, acknowledges that the ADL issued a statement critical of Pat Buchanan. 'I'm sure that Abe Rosenthal saw it,' Foxman says. 'It wasn't a secret. He then did what he did.'" (Foxman subsequently denied that his organization had "called a single editor to request removal of Buchanan's column, nor would we.")

Brownfeld went on: "The ADL is part of a larger coalition of groups, some of which have assumed for themselves the role of attempting to silence those advocating ideas with which these groups disagree. The house organ of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), *Near East Report*, urged its readers to exert pressure on local newspapers around the country to replace Pat Buchanan's column with that of another conservative columnist, such as George Will. Even Harvard Professor Alan Dershowitz, ordinarily an outspoken advocate of the First Amendment, declared that Buchanan should be removed from the national media. 'CNN should take him off the air and major American newspapers should stop running him,' Dershowitz told the *Washington Jewish Week*."

Brownfeld tells us that on the other hand there was "widespread defense" of Buchanan. Now that can be thought to be good news abstractly, insofar as it is testimony to the liveliness of civil liberties and pluralism, but not-so-good news insofar as it suggests the toleration of bigotry or indifference to it. But an indifference to bigotry can't easily be thought to have motivated those specifically cited by Brownfeld, especially the "prominent Jewish Americans"—including Paul Gottfried, Leon Hadar, Ronald Hamowy, Sheldon Richman, Murray Rothbard, and Murray Sabrin—who were among the signers of a pro-Buchanan advertisement in the *New York Times* in October 1990. Inevitably it will be surmised by many Jewish critics of Buchanan that his "Jewish defenders" are perhaps professional apostates, on the order of Alfred Lilienthal, whose principal occupation over the years has been criticism of Israel. But that charge cannot be sustained against persons of this intellectual quality.

Where Israel Is Concerned . . .

IT IS the moment to note and ponder comments by Eric Alterman, a senior fellow of the World Policy Institute. Writing in *The Nation* (November 5, 1990), he took issue with Rosenthal—because he thought it wrong for him to assume that all American Jews were affronted by the criticisms made by Buchanan of our Middle East policy.

> To Rosenthal, Buchanan's indictment implicates all Jews, including, I imagine, my 11-month-old nephew. To anyone with the slightest degree of political sophistication, however, the quote [Buchanan's "amen corner"] implies "some Jews," or even "those few people, who happen to be Jewish, along with some non-Jews like Alfonse D'Amato." Interpret-

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ing criticism of particular Jews to embrace all Jews is itself a kind of anti-Semitism. Thus "the Jews," not Ivan Boesky or Dennis Levine, are behind the insider-trading scandal. "The Jews," not Karl Marx . . . , wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. "The Jews," not Abe Rosenthal, are responsible for the literary crimes that grace the *New York Times* op-ed page twice a week.

On this point Michael Kinsley of *The New Republic* was in agreement. Daniel Lazare quotes him in the *New York Observer* (October 1, 1990):

> Something that sounds like anti-Semitism may not be. Mr. Kinsley, for instance, pointed out that Mr. Rosenthal's column was devoid of evidence to back up his assertion that Israel's "amen corner in the United States" was an anti-Semitic codeword: "All the column said was, 'J'accuse—I have refrained from saying it, but I can refrain no longer. I hereby say it. There, I've said it.' That was the essence of the column. It didn't have either evidence or argument. I'm not saying there is no evidence or argument to be mustered, but he simply didn't do it."

Confronted with this objection, Rosenthal was simply impatient, as already cited: "I didn't attack him because of what he said about Israel or Iraq but because he put it in anti-Semitic language." Raising the question of how to avoid anti-Semitic formulations when *criticizing* Israeli policy.

The diversity of opinion on Mideast policy among learned Jews comes through briefly but forcefully in a fundraising letter from the editor of *Tikkun* ("A Bimonthly Jewish Critique of Politics, Culture, & Society"), which once described itself as a "left-wing *Commentary*." Michael Lerner ("Ph.D.") writes to his supporters,

> Iraqi aggression in Kuwait has further complicated the task of the Israeli peace movement—particularly given the foolish action of many Palestinians in supporting Saddam Hussein. My editorial in the September issue attempts to explain their support for Hussein in terms of the continuing frustration they've faced with an Israel that repeatedly asserts its unwillingness to negotiate land for peace. But while I think Palestinian support for Iraq does not provide good grounds to discount their struggle for national self-determination, I must say that personally I find it discouraging that many of them identify with such a destructive and vicious person as Saddam Hussein. I understand why so many Israelis are scared—both by Iraq and by Palestinian support for Saddam Hussein. And it certainly makes things much more difficult for us in the peace camp: we must oppose Saddam Hussein and yet not allow Iraq to become the newest excuse for continuing to deny Palestinians the rights they deserve. In this process, we must also stress our solid commitment to Israeli security and survival.

That statement could have been signed by Joe Sobran or Pat Buchanan, but passes unnoticed written by a Jew, addressed to other Jews, in language studiedly sober.

Back to Eric Alterman in *The Nation*:

> "Jewish pressure" is thrown around all the time in Washington and it is done so proudly. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (Aipac), the "pro-Israel" lobby in Washington, has spent the past ten years purposefully building and enhancing its reputation for deploying its "Jewish pressure" on matters it deems to be of Jewish concern, from Egypt to El Salvador. In that regard, anyway, it has done a pretty fair job. Just what did Rosenthal think Aipac director Thomas Dine had in mind back in 1984 when he announced, after the defeat of Senator Charles Percy (who supported the establishment of a Palestinian entity), that "all the Jews in America, from coast to coast, gathered to oust Percy. And the American politicians—those who hold public positions now, and those who aspire—got the message"? Goyish pressure?

Alterman goes on, nudging up against a critical point everywhere acknowledged abstractly, but with which some anti-anti-Semites have practical difficulties.

> The equation of anti-Semitism with opposition to Israel's government and with the "pressure" its supporters and operatives exert on the American political process demeans the lives of those who have suffered under true anti-Semitism—and there is no shortage of those—and silences legitimate debate on U.S. policy in the Middle East. A recent fundraising letter sent out by the American Jewish Congress and signed by its executive director, Henry Siegman, veered uncomfortably close to this territory as well. The letter accuses James Zogby, president of the Arab American Institute, of being a proponent of "the new anti-Semitism" and appears to link him with neo-Nazi David Duke, as well as with the proudly anti-Semitic Louis Farrakhan, on the basis of Zogby's campaign to limit the influence of pro-Israel PACs in American elections. The AJC's objection, according to the letter, is that Zogby insists that five U.S. senators who received a great deal of pro-Israel PAC money are "not operating in the interests of the people who elected them."

Is this action by AIPAC discriminatory in the objectionable sense?

No, not really. Alterman cannot here be denied:

> A pro-Israel PAC would have to be stupid to raise money for people whom it did not expect to behave in its interest. Aipac and its related PACs have been accused of a great many things, but stupidity—particularly in the raising and spending of campaign contributions—is not one of them.

Alterman is amused, or rather not amused, by AIPAC's gyrations on the matter of freedom of expression:

> Following on Rosenthal's column, Aipac sent an advisory to its 50,000 members, encouraging them to meet with newspaper editors in order to "ask them if they believe the Buchanans are presenting information their readers want." Aipac suggests that its members offer the names of Norman Podhoretz and other far-right-wing Shamir government cheerleaders as alternatives, or such "liberals" as (I kid you not) Alan Dershowitz, Charles Krauthammer, and one A. M. Rosenthal. "No one is saying the Buchanans should have no right to express their views." Who—Aipac? Of course not. But just the same, Aipac would like to see Buchanan silenced and replaced with pundits who are "fair-minded when it comes to the Middle East."
>
> Buchanan is perhaps being a bit paranoid when he suspects a "pre-planned, orchestrated smear campaign" designed to deprive him of his readership. But with Aipac

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and Rosenthal after him, need we remind ourselves that even paranoids have real enemies?

We are left here with an American Jew who opposes Israeli policies 1) calling attention to the anomaly that any non-Jew who also opposes those policies runs the risk of being called anti-Semitic; and 2) defending an "Israeli" line as defined by Israeli lobbies, while raising the question whether defiance of that line warrants the anti-Israel tag, in particular to the extent that "anti-Israel" evolves into "anti-Semitic." And we are left with the question of how to train the moral faculties to distinguish between those whose anti-Israel positions evolve (whether or not they know it) from anti-Semitic impulses, and those anti-Israelis unaffected by the Jewishness of the Israeli nation. I find it impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against the charge that what he did and said during the period under examination amounted to anti-Semitism, whatever it was that drove him to say and do it: most probably, an iconoclastic temperament.*

So then, if such anti-Semitic impulses exist, do they usually also overwhelm rational faculties? Become obsessive? We know of historical examples in which this has in fact happened. ("I had a letter yesterday from Peg," Murray Kempton told me years ago, driving back from Westbrook Pegler's funeral. "I knew he was sick. He wrote seven pages and didn't once mention David Ben Gurion.") □

Part 3

THE DARTMOUTH REVIEW

ON OCTOBER 4, 1990, the Student Assembly of Dartmouth College held a rally. It was a huge affair, probably the most massive gathering of Dartmouth students, faculty, and administrators at any Dartmouth function since the Grateful Dead's appearance in the Seventies. Why?

The rally was brought forth under the banner, "Dartmouth United Against Hate." Twenty-five hundred people were there, according to the press. Speakers were James O. Freedman, the president of Dartmouth; two professors; and student leaders from the African-American Society, Dartmouth Hillel, Native Americans at Dartmouth, the International Students Association, and the Student Assembly.

What engendered this extraordinary convention was a single issue of *The Dartmouth Review* distributed six days earlier. The *Review* is a weekly publication, ten years old, sponsored by conservative dissenters among Dartmouth students. Ever since its inception, the *Review* has carried under its logo what it calls "The *Review* Credo," a quotation from Theodore Roosevelt—"*Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win great triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat.*"

But in the October 3 issue, "The *Review* Credo" read: "Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win great triumphs. *Therefore, I believe today that I am acting in the sense of the Almighty Creator: By warding off the Jews, I am fighting for the Lord's work*: gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat." The lines sandwiched in between the two clauses by TR are from Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

The Immediate Aftermath

HERE IS what was done by the editorial staff of *The Dartmouth Review* when the mutilation was spotted and in the days immediately after:

1. All issues of the *Review* not already distributed (it was three days before anybody saw the imposture) were destroyed.

2. An apology was printed and distributed throughout the campus.

3. The district attorney of the state of New Hampshire was asked to conduct an investigation of the editorial substitution, a felony under state law.

4. A request was made to the trustees of *The Dartmouth Review* to dispatch a member to conduct his own investigation.

5. The editor of the *Review* volunteered to take a polygraph test designed to inquire whether he had foreknowledge of the act of sabotage.

Concurrently, the Dartmouth administration:

1. Organized the anti-hate rally.

2. Conducted an interview with Fox Butterfield of the *New York Times*, insisting that the quote from Hitler had been published intentionally and was characteristic of the editorial policies of the *Review*.

3. Drew attention to the appearance of the Hitler quote the day before Yom Kippur, a sacred day in the Jewish calendar.

4. Contracted to write an op-ed page piece for the *New York Times* (signed by Freedman) about the incident, and to publicize it wherever opportunity lay.

President Freedman was off to a give-no-quarter start. His address to the anti-hate congregation contained the following sentences. "For ten years *The Dartmouth Review* has consistently attacked blacks because they are black, women because they are women, homosexuals because they are homosexuals, and Jews because they are Jews. Now, in an act of moral cowardice that extends that reprehensible pattern, it relies on Hitler's *Mein Kampf* on the day of Yom Kippur. Appalling bigotry of this kind has no place at the College or in this country. . . . I am very angry."

*Several weeks after these words were written, some cartoonists, and one or two columnists, reached out to link Pat Buchanan with David Duke, after Duke's gubernatorial race in Louisiana and Buchanan's projected entry into the presidential race. The linkage is morally irresponsible, as careful readers of this essay will acknowledge. Duke the sometime KKK wizard and Nazi enthusiast is as reasonably linked with Buchanan as Norman Thomas is with Stalin.

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The more sober community, looking in on Hanover, was understandably perplexed, and several commentators even spoke of the likelihood of sabotage. But Freedman ruled out the possibility. Asked by the *Wall Street Journal* how he would feel if it were in due course established that the Hitler quote was inserted by a saboteur, his reply was, "I just haven't thought about that." And to the *Boston Globe*, "It's hard to believe it was an accident."

The Investigation by the ADL

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith, which is formally concerned with evidence of anti-Semitism, accepted the invitation by *The Dartmouth Review* to look into the incident. A Commission was established under the chairmanship of Richard D. Glovsky, an alumnus of Dartmouth, a former assistant United States attorney for the district of Massachusetts, where he was chief of the Civil Division from 1978 to 1980, and a principal in the Boston law firm of Glovsky & Associates. The ADL Commission issued its findings on January 8, 1991, in a substantial report.

The very first sentence in the report read, "On the day before Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the year for Jews throughout the world, the following quote from Adolf Hitler appeared on the masthead of *The Dartmouth Review*."

Question: Was it relevant to note that Yom Kippur was the following day? As it happened, saying so served at least the purpose of correcting the chronology of President Freedman, who at the Hate Rally had placed the *Review* publication not on the day before Yom Kippur, but on Yom Kippur. It would seem to this observer that, just to begin with, few Americans know when Yom Kippur falls, let alone what exactly it represents in Jewish theology. This ought not to be surprising, given the small size of the Jewish population in America (under 3 per cent), much of it secularist. A poll conducted in England in the spring of 1991 revealed that 34 per cent of Englishmen do not know what Easter Sunday is supposed to celebrate, and 39 per cent do not know what happened on Good Friday.*

But more important, the publication of the genocidal remark by Adolf Hitler would have been equally appalling any day of the year. To relate it to Yom Kippur seemed therefore an irrelevant, endogamous distraction. In the spring of 1991, when William Smith and his uncle Senator Edward Kennedy were drinking at 3 A.M., following which (it is alleged) young Smith raped a woman, it was noticed by only a very few people as seriously relevant to the event that the drinking had started on Good Friday and the (alleged) rape was committed on Holy Saturday. A rape one week later or one week earlier would have been equally scandalous.

*The validity of that poll has been questioned, but even if the figures are wrong, the point survives. For probably the majority, holidays that began as religious holy days are secular in meaning and observance.

Quite reasonably, the ADL set out to inquire whether there was a tradition of anti-Semitism in *The Dartmouth Review*. The examiners went back to the year 1982, when—to quote from the Commission's report—"The *Review* ran an item entitled 'Grin and Beirut,' which stated that with the erection of a ceremonial Jewish sukkah 'on the West Bank of College Hall' the 'Zionists have gone too far.' Shortly thereafter, the Jewish sukkah [a sukkah is a Jewish ceremonial shelter associated with the Sukkoth festival] on campus was clandestinely destroyed. The Commission found no evidence to link the sukkah destruction to the article."

That absolution by the ADL could not have been expected to satisfy everyone retroactively. "This was a despicable act of anti-Semitic vandalism perpetrated in a school that has—to put it mildly—a reputation for ignoring the sensitivities of the Jewish members of its community," Ronald Kiener, a visiting lecturer in the religion department, wrote in a letter to *The Dartmouth* (the regular student newspaper). And Rabbi Michael Paley, associate chaplain at the college, "while defending Dartmouth as a place no more difficult for Jews than other Ivy League schools," as the *Boston Globe* reported his comments, "acknowledges, 'Dartmouth is a place that fosters homogeneity, and Jews are a minority . . . there is a problem with Jews here [because] there is a problem with anyone who doesn't fit the Dartmouth image.' " Once again: The problems of a minority *qua* minority are not to be confused with the anti-Semitic virus we are seeking to isolate. And the statement by Rabbi Paley is about the Dartmouth scene, not about anti-Semitism within *The Dartmouth Review*.

The most fevered reaction came in a letter published by *The Dartmouth*, and one does well to note, with pain, the intensity of it. The letter was signed by 11 Jews who identified themselves as from "the Upper Valley, including Jewish students at Dartmouth":

> *The Dartmouth Review* published a satirical article characterizing this religious symbol [the sukkah] as a "settlement on the West Bank of College Hall" and as part of a Jewish extortion plot against Dartmouth. The appearance of such an article, amid signs of a rising tide of anti-Semitism here and abroad, and the linking of the sukkah to Israeli government policies in the West Bank which are opposed by many, if not most, Upper Valley Jews, reflects a lack of judgment and responsibility that would be astonishing were the editors of *The Review* ever known to have adhered to minimal journalistic standards.
>
> We condemn the destruction of the sukkah. We assert our right to live as Jews at Dartmouth and in the Upper Valley free from intimidation. We condemn the cheap attacks of *The Review* on Jews, blacks, women, gays, and any other group that its editors decide offer opportunities for pandering to prejudice.

The Question of Editorial License

ONE PAUSES here to consider the factor of student humor; in fact, of humor in general.

In 1982 the Israelis were indeed on the march in Lebanon, and the controversial settlements on

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the West Bank had begun. In reaction to the sukkah's construction (illegal, by Dartmouth regulations) the wisecrack was, prima facie, entirely innocent of racist or religious spite—that the "Zionists" had "gone too far" on "the West Bank of College Hall" is an amusing campus application of an international incident. ("Winthrop House Is a Distressed Area," was the banner with which Harvard students welcomed President-elect John F. Kennedy back to his undergraduate quarters, without profaning the West Virginian poverty that gave rise to the phrase.) The *Review*'s brief editorial note had gone on to say, in mock solemnity, "A spokesman for the Dartmouth Hillel has flatly refused to remove the ceremonial shack without guarantees from President McLaughlin for increased aid for the Judaic Studies Department, and a new Jewish dormitory on the banks of the Connecticut River. A buildup of Cadillacs is rumored along the outskirts of the city of West Lebanon, N.H." Good college-humor stuff, and anyway, the *Review*'s longtime championship of Israeli causes should have sobered up its 11 critics. One concludes that they were affected less by the few sentences that appeared in the *Review* than by the sharp public criticism of the Israeli military (indeed, much of it by Israelis) that upset Norman Podhoretz and caused him to write his essay "J'Accuse" at about the same time.

JAMES FREEDMAN

The *Boston Globe* had put this lead on the sukkah story when it happened: "It was a chilly, dark night, with little light from a late-rising moon, when two, maybe three tipsy vandals tore down the makeshift shelter." The effort, halfhearted, to put an anti-Semitic construction on the event did not catch fire with the *Globe*'s reporter. Rabbi Paley was quoted: "Anti-Semitism comes in a lot of different flavors. . . . The destruction was probably done by someone drunk and out of control—but if it had been a [Christmas] manger scene in the middle of the Green, it would not have been a target." That may be true; but even if it were, the incident would not have added up to anti-Semitism. The Christmas manger is universally recognized as a religious symbol, not to be trifled with except by the Supreme Court; not so the sukkah. Insularity, not prejudice, would be implicated here. The newspaper story went on to report that the jape about the Zionists going too far had been "intended to be witty, . . . and was written by **Jews.**"

After looking at the sukkah incident in search of racism, the ADL Commission moved on to the destruction of the anti-apartheid shanties in January 1986. This act was done by ***Review*** staffers not a bit covertly—on the contrary, perhaps even with a touch of ostentation—on the grounds that by removing the shanties they were enforcing regulations official Dartmouth, by reason of ideological funk, was itself neglecting. The shanty wreckers were severely punished, some of them even suspended from college for several terms.

It was alleged at the time by some of their critics that the student editors were activated by racist (anti-anti-apartheid) motives. Attention was given once again to coincidental holy days: The anti-*Review* chorus pronounced the destruction of the shanties as especially blasphemous in that the deed was done on the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King. This charge was inconvenienced by an indigestible datum: Dr. King's birthday is on January 15, and the shanties were destroyed on January 21. The ADL Commission pointed out, however, that in 1986 Dr. King's birthday was officially celebrated on January 20, which point helped the sacrilege-seekers a little, though leaving unanswered and unanswerable the question: If the whole idea was to strike a blow against those who were striking a blow against apartheid and to magnify this anti-black effrontery by doing it on the birthday of Martin Luther King, why not tear down the shanties *on* the birthday of Martin Luther King, rather than six days after his actual birthday? Or tear them down on the day of his official birthday celebration, not one day after? On top of that problem, the racist-bent critics had the problem of coping with the sustained editorial protests against the (illegal) shanties, denounced and resented as violations of the zoning regulations of Dartmouth College, which prohibit structures on the Green whether designed to protest apartheid or affirm Coca-Cola. The *Review* had engaged in criticism of the shanty infractions ever since they went up, and that was two months (and three days?) before the birthday of Martin Luther King.

The major attraction, in the search for anti-Semitism in the history of *The Dartmouth Review*, was one article. To quote the Commission:

> In its October 19, 1988, issue, *The Review* published an article entitled "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Freedmann." The author of the article was James Garrett, who the *Review* represented to be "a survivor" [i.e., of Hitler's Germany]. The article compared President Freedman, who is Jewish, to Adolf Hitler. It referred to President Freedman as "Der Freedmann," cited his only book as *Mein Krise und Administrationen*, said Mr. Freedman's speeches "could whip up professors into frenzies of hysterical joy," and . . . claimed that President Freedman converted the Campus Police to a private army "absolutely subject to [Freedman's] will, the legendarily brutal SS." One week later *The Review* depicted President Freedman in a cartoon as Adolf Hitler.

The article in question was in dubious taste, but its appearance does little more than remind us that some-

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times sophomores do sophomoric things. It is not plausible that young Mr. Garrett was undertaking to trivialize the Holocaust by his caricature of the college president as Adolf Hitler. It had been popular, especially during the Sixties, to refer to policemen as "pigs," or indeed as "Nazis." The derogation was never (in my judgment) funny, but it wasn't widely interpreted as an indication of latent insensitivity in the Woodstock Generation to Auschwitz or, for that matter, to policemen suffering from identity crises. As to the personal record of the author of the article, Garrett had, earlier in the year, written a piece denouncing Dartmouth's recognition and funding of a pro-PLO student organization, the Committee for Palestinian Rights. During the debate that followed the Hitler article, Garrett and his fellow editors contrasted their own record on Israel and the Jews with that of certain other members of the Dartmouth community, in particular those who had been responsible for inviting Professor Angela Davis, the black Communist official once mixed up with the Black Panthers, to Dartmouth to give a lecture celebrating the anniversary of coeducation. "Ironically," the *Review* said in its own defense, "those who stood and cheered after Davis's meandering diatribe against men, whites, Jews, and anyone else she could think of" were now criticizing the *Review*. "Professor Arthur Hertzberg, a member of Dartmouth's current cabal of moralists, calls the *Review*'s editor a 'pre-fascist thug . . . [a] dog' in virtually the same breath with which he deplored Garrett's comparison of Freedman to Hitler. . . . Other professors and administrators who signed on to this ill-conceived hate campaign have already shown us that their intellectual integrity is nonexistent."

Moslems and Penguins

THE ADL, as already suggested, did not confine its investigation to past acts of the *Review* that bore directly on the Jewish question. A general curiosity governed in respect of sensitivity to the feelings of minorities, and the Commission noted that "in the summer of 1990, one issue of the *Review* compared the deaths of 1,400 Moslems in Mecca with the deaths of 7,000 penguins. After receiving objections, it apologized in a subsequent issue to the 'penguins.' In yet another issue, it apologized for the initial analogy." ("Apology. In our Summer Issue and September 19 issue, we made several remarks that were quite upsetting to Arab students. These remarks went over the line of good taste, and we apologize to Arab Dartmouth students and the Community at large.")

We have here an example of the problems a serious, partisan journal has when it gives way to *National Lampoon* humor, which is always going to happen. Young editors, so to speak after two beers, decide it would be hilarious to compare the death of penguins to that of Moslems. They are upbraided for doing so, and after three beers and much hooting they decide to apologize—to the penguins . . . The next morning, the hangover brings forth a prim note of contrition.

It makes sense to examine episodes of that sort with reference to the ambient culture and to local and institutional traditions. It was, after all, the quarrel between those sons of Dartmouth who wanted to hang on to the Indian as the traditional college symbol and those who, aspiring to political correctness, wished to replace it that gave birth to the special tensions associated with Dartmouth College. The editor's page in *The American Spectator* overflows with tall-tale American humor, and R. Emmett Tyrrell would be entirely disoriented if he thought it necessary to apologize every time he got Moslems and penguins mixed up. *Private Eye* and the *National Lampoon* would of course go out of existence if so constrained. But . . . *quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi*: *The Dartmouth Review* has occasionally to exercise restraint in order to assert its vaunted essential seriousness. *The American Spectator* manages this by the solid line drawn between Mr. Tyrrell's opening column and the balance of the issue. Such editorial contrivances can be useful.

It has not been officially established who inserted the Hitler quote in the *Review*'s logo. The ADL Commission asserted that "a staffer" was responsible, and the *Review*'s management no longer challenges that probability. Close students of the case have a reasoned idea who it was. If they have the right man, his motives for the mischievous act were unpleasant but were absolutely unrelated to anti-Semitism, given that his acquaintances record not a single episode, written or spoken, that suggests that he suffers from this infirmity. Of the three young editors who had regular access to the relevant computer, two agreed to take polygraph tests, did so, and passed. The third declined.

The Dartmouth Case Goes National

THE Hitler-quote incident became national news. Some eighty U.S. congressmen signed a petition condemning the *Review*, which is more congressmen than condemned Kristallnacht in 1938. The Dartmouth administration fought lustily to pin anti-Semitism on the *Review* staff, but the counterattack grew. Official Dartmouth had allies, but they tended to sound formalistic ("We don't like *The Dartmouth Review* and therefore choose to believe that its editors are pro-Hitler") rather than analytical ("Why on earth would *The Dartmouth Review*'s editors *be* for Hitler?"). Cecil Johnson, a black columnist for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, wrote, "Evidence is surfacing that most of those supposedly persecuted student publications, which delight in minority-, gay-, and feminist-bashing and often lapse into gross anti-Semitism, are part of a network that is supported by wealthy and influential conservative individuals and foundations with suspect motives. . . . Perhaps there was sabotage. Still, based upon the past excesses of *Review* staff both in and out of print, there is no doubt that they were capable of such an affront." Mr. Johnson gave voice to what many others were undoubtedly saying to themselves, namely, It doesn't appear that the Hitler thing was done inten-

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tionally, which is rather a pity, given that an auto-da-fé by *The Dartmouth Review* is overdue.

The editor, Kevin Pritchett, was difficult to cope with. A local paper (the *Barre Times Argus*) interviewed him and ran the story under the headline, "Is He Villain or Victim?" The interviewer concluded, "Pritchett swears he still has no idea who replaced the magazine's traditional credo . . . 'I mean, Jesus, it's so stupid,' Pritchett says. 'Let's say that I'm the evil anti-Semitic person that did this. It would be like shooting myself in the head. It's something that's unthinkable.'" Richard Cohen, the liberal op-ed columnist for the *Washington Post*, echoed Cecil Johnson's frustration. He wrote with self-evident frustration that the "right-wing brats at the loathsome *Dartmouth Review* may be getting a raw deal."

Pursuant to my practice as above, I quote my own comments on the case as of October 5, 1990.

> I was practicing my scales in North Carolina a couple of days ago, called in to my office, and received word that AP, the *Boston Globe*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, ABC, CBS, and NBC wished to talk to me.* It flashed through my mind that my wife had defected to the Khmer Rouge, or that my magazine had in my temporary absence come out for Teddy Kennedy for President. No no, I was reassured, it was the Dartmouth situation they all wanted to talk to me about. What was the Dartmouth situation?
>
> As everybody now knows, the latest issue of *The Dartmouth Review* appeared not with the traditional logo from Theodore Roosevelt giving "The *Review* Credo," but with a supplanted stretch of text that no one happened to notice for three whole days. (How often do you pause to read, "All the News That's Fit to Print" when you pick up the *New York Times*?) [The column went on to describe what happened, and the reactions of the editor and of the college administration.] . . .
>
> You would not think that that episode would become a national story, but wait.
>
> Official Dartmouth . . . decided to explode. There is nothing Dartmouth President James Freedman is better at doing than calling the attention of the whole world to the putative delinquencies of his own college. After all, *The Dartmouth Review* is made up of Dartmouth students, it has been around for ten years, its graduates have distinguished themselves in various lines of activity, and it is wonderfully popular with an alumni body much of which reels with embarrassment at Dartmouth's dogged, humorless liberal trendiness.
>
> Now the question is reasonably asked: Is it possible that the editor-in-chief of *The Dartmouth Review* himself injected those lines from Hitler, was frightened by what he had done, and pretended it was the work of someone else? Well, that is a hypothesis worth a moment's attention. It does struggle, however, against the odds.
>
> Kevin Pritchett is a black student, rather sensitive to race prejudice. For three summers he has worked at the *Wall Street Journal*, distinguishing himself as an intern. Nobody has ever heard him utter an anti-Semitic word. Nor, for that matter, has the *Review*, which revels in controversy, ever been charged with anti-Semitism. It is, instead, charged with sexism, homophobia, and (non-anti-Semitic) racism, the latter primarily because of its defiant defense of a continuation of the use of the Indian symbol, plus one column using black doggerel to make fun of extremes of affirmative action. Homophobia is of course defined as a belief that homosexuality is aberrational; and sexism means you didn't come out for a woman for President, or for coeducational fraternities.
>
> But so anxious was President Freedman to give the impression that the Hitler quote was the collective responsibility of all the editors of the *Review* that he called an anti-hate rally, in which a thousand or so Dartmouth students convened to prove that they hated hate more than anybody since St. Matthew.
>
> But the hate-haters are going to have to practice a little, as witness the treatment of one writer for *The Dartmouth Review*. Outside his dormitory, students gathered to chant "Sieg Heil!" And outside his door a large swastika was placed, decorated with the phrase, "Nazi Pig."
>
> Andrew Baer, '93, was not amused. Perhaps because, as he put it in a public statement: "I am a staff writer for *The Dartmouth Review* and a descendant of Holocaust survivors. More than thirty members of my family perished in ways so horrible that they defy description. They died for one reason and one reason alone, because they were Jewish."†

In his op-ed piece for the *New York Times*, President Freedman continued his comprehensive charges against the *Review*, repeating the charge: "For the past ten years *The Dartmouth Review* . . . has attracted national attention with its brazen attacks on blacks, women, homosexuals, native Americans, and Jews." Two months later, President Freedman was required, by his prejudgment, to ignore the finding of a human-rights official. Here is the Associated Press account of December 31, 1990:

> NO BIAS SEEN IN "REVIEW"
> By The Associated Press
>
> MANCHESTER—The head of New Hampshire's Human Rights Commission is wondering "what all the fuss was about" regarding criticism of *The Dartmouth Review*.
>
> Barry Palmer of Nashua, a copy editor for the *Union Leader* of Manchester, said he read two years of issues of

*I should here record that *The Dartmouth Review*, from the first issue on, has included in one of its many tiers on the masthead, "Special Thanks to William F. Buckley, Jr." I have never been told exactly why this practice originated, or at whose prompting. I have never been consulted by the editors about policy; I would as soon the *Review* ended the homage, but I continue to feel it would be ungrateful, even snotty, to say so. I say so now only under duress, in a document that requires me to specify my exact relationship to the *Review*. No doubt the appearance of my name, year after year, was one reason why the news media descended on me. The same masthead lists "The *Review* Advisory Board—Patrick Buchanan, James Cleveland, George Gilder, Guy Hawtin, Mildred Fay Jefferson, Russell Kirk, William Rusher, R. Emmett Tyrrell, James Whelan, Walter Williams." The ADL Commission reports that none of the Advisory Board has ever been consulted by the *Review*'s editors about policy.

†The column concluded, "It is an old temptation to fool just a little bit with the authorized text. Thus the London *Times*' early edition reported that the Queen, on returning from her coronation, 'paused at Westminster Bridge and peed over the City of London.' The *New York Times* never caught the hacker who would certainly have lost his job for inserting the single comma in the headline on the social page, 'Jacqueline Screws, / Becomes Affianced.'

"Mr. Pritchett thinks he knows who the malefactor is. If he will just identify himself, he is guaranteed to receive an honorary degree from President Freedman."

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the *Review* and found no evidence of discrimination against blacks, women, homosexuals, or Jews.

Palmer, the commission chairman, said he conducted the study as an individual, not on behalf of the commission, after continued criticism of the paper by Dartmouth College President James Freedman, who said the paper consistently attacks those groups.

Criticizing blacks, women, homosexuals, or Jews is not prejudice as long as the criticism is based on performance, and not sexual or racial status, Palmer said.

Political profiteering from the episode was rank. In a later column I gave an example:

> Alan Lupo, a correspondent for the *Boston Globe*, writes about John MacGovern, who is running hard and successfully [for Congress] against the incumbent head of the Democratic Party of Massachusetts. MacGovern was one of the founders of *The Dartmouth Review* and refuses to disavow it for the best of reasons, namely that other than occasional sophomoric excesses, the paper—which has had three women editors, Jewish editors, Third World editors, and has been consistently pro-Israel in foreign affairs—is none of the things popularly suggested. Lupo reveals that MacGovern's father was a Jew-hating Feeneyite. (Father Feeney was excommunicated by Pope Pius XII.) That's true. And he died when MacGovern was four years old. Lupo concludes, "MacGovern may not have a bigoted bone in his body, but his history and associations raise serious questions about his judgment and his qualifications for Congress."
>
> Meanwhile his opponent, the incumbent Atkins, has a radio ad. " 'By warding off the Jews, I am doing the Lord's work.' Adolf Hitler wrote those words back in 1924, words of hate and intolerance. But those words are back to haunt us. *The Dartmouth Review* printed those words on its masthead on Yom Kippur, and John MacGovern, candidate for Congress and founder of the *Review*, refuses to separate himself from those words of hate."

The Israel Connection

IN THE SECTIONS on Joe Sobran and Pat Buchanan we examined the question of a nexus between anti-Semitism and opposition to the policies of Israel. We have looked at statements that suggest that hostility to Israel 1) has zero connection with anti-Semitism, 2) warns of the possibility of latent anti-Semitism; and (the most extreme) 3) is tantamount to anti-Semitism. Believing as I do that opposition to Israel ought not to be thought of as presumptive anti-Semitism, I think it right to probe the contrapositive assumption, namely that friendship toward Israel exonerates one from any suspicion of anti-Semitism.

I think this is as a practical matter true, though not conclusively so. It is difficult to imagine someone who is anti-Semitic and pro-Israel. But such could exist, e.g., the (hypothetical) man who wishes Zionism to flower so that Jews in the rest of the world would be attracted to emigrate; so to speak, inaugurating an anti-diasporization.

In the Dartmouth case, the *Review*'s editors and their friends made much, in their defense, of pro-Israel positions adopted by the journal over the years. In writing to the Anti-Defamation League urging it to undertake an investigation, *Dartmouth Review* trustee Dinesh D'Souza included in his letter the sentence, "Indeed, over the past ten years, the *Review* has steadfastly editorialized in favor of Israel—an increasingly rare position on college campuses." And added, "The newspaper has always had Jewish editors and staffers. These facts are hardly consistent with a pro-Hitler editorial policy." The journalist and novelist Sidney Zion was up front on the question: "*The Dartmouth Review* has strongly supported Israel for ten years. Anyone who says it is anti-Semitic is meshugga." In a statement written in its own defense, the *Review* appended a page headlined, "The *Review* Is Pro-Semitic and Pro-Israeli." It listed fourteen stories and editorials published in the preceding five years friendly to Israel and opposed to anti-Semitism, including, for example, articles under the headings, "Is the Romance Over? American Jews and the Left" (December 11, 1985, by Steve Kaplitt), and "Can the PLO Play a Part in Peace?" [No.] (May 30, 1990, by Allison Hoffman). The *Review* also drew attention to the student journal *Stet*, college-supported (unlike the *Review*) and Marxist, which is a tirade against Israel, assigning all the blame for the Arab–Israeli conflict to "Jewish aggression." The single issue of *Stet* I have examined would justify not the conclusion that its editors were anti-Semitic, but the suspicion that their passionate pro-Palestinianism might lead them, or has led them, in that direction. In any event, those who believe that anti-Semitism and pro-Israelism can't fit into the same editorial mindset had grounds on which to step forward to reject official Dartmouth's charge against the editors of *The Dartmouth Review*.

Mr. Butterfield's Anxiety

AMONG THE dismaying results of facile and opportunistic charges of anti-Semitism is: pride-stoking. Pride can resist at almost any cost the call to—apologize. People are regularly wedded to positions they took even impulsively. A major victim of the episode was Fox Butterfield of the *New York Times*. I wrote him a personal letter on October 7. He replied with a telephone call when I was out of my office. Two subsequent attempts to reach him were unsuccessful. Three weeks later I gave up on him and published in my column the private letter I had written to him.

> "Dear Fox, . . . You know how highly I rate your work." (The reference is to his classic book on Mao's China, *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea*.) "For that reason I was especially alarmed by the lead sentence in this morning's *New York Times* piece on *The Dartmouth Review*, to wit, 'For a decade, many students and professors at Dartmouth College have watched with quiet dismay—and occasional anger—as a handful of writers at a conservative weekly shaped a public perception of Dartmouth as hostile toward blacks, women, and Jews.'
>
> "I take the liberty," I went on, "of enclosing [my] column on the [*Dartmouth Review*] published today . . . I record in it that there has never [heretofore] been a charge of anti-Semitism made against the *Review*. Racking my mind since

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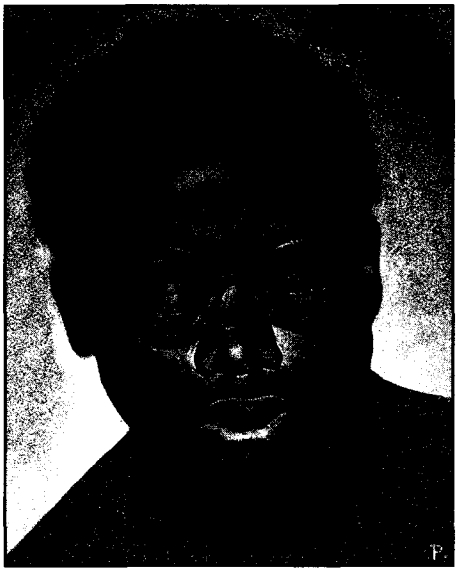
reading your piece, I do recall something at the expense of President Freedman that used Third Reich formalisms of some kind or another, but it was clearly miscast drollery rather than anti-Semitism. I see only three or four issues of the *Review* every year. But I am highly sensitive to anti-Semitism and yours is the very first article I have ever seen in which it is matter-of-factly set down that the *Review* has that reputation. I am quite sure that you are wrong. If I am wrong, I do wish you would let me know of it, and I will, I assure you, take strenuous and public measures to disengage."



KEVIN PRITCHETT

He did reply, by letter. He recited the story of the sukkah and the *Review*'s note that "the Zionists have gone too far." "The incident," he wrote, "rightly or wrongly, was blamed on the editors of the *Review*, and thus began a sense that the *Review* was anti-Semitic." As we have seen, the destruction of the sukkah was not blamed on the *Review* in responsible quarters, and the ADL Commission's report specifically exonerated the *Review*.

Butterfield went on to cite the "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Freedmann" story, examined above, which he said was viewed by some as anti-Semitic, and he added: "It is against this background that the latest flap occurred. . . . Honest men can differ over the meaning of these incidents. Perhaps they do only amount to miscast drollery. But having talked to the rabbi at Dartmouth and having listened to a number of Jewish undergraduates, I feel safe in saying that they believe the *Review* has anti-Semitic tendencies."

This is not responsible commentary for a *New York Times* reporter who began an important story, "For a decade, many students and professors at Dartmouth College have watched with quiet dismay . . . as a handful of writers at a conservative weekly shaped a public perception of Dartmouth as hostile toward blacks, women, and Jews." Two ambiguous incidents over a period of ten years, punctuated by regular pro-Israel editorial positions and the election of Jewish editors and staffers. Applying such criteria in search of anti-Semitism, Mr. Butterfield, I do not doubt, could accuse any journal in the United States of "shaping" a "perception" of anti-Semitism, though perhaps he would not succeed in documenting the ambient "quiet dismay."

The Toxic Waste

THERE IS ONE guaranteed way to encourage anti-Semitism, and that is to discover it with thunderous indignation in the conduct or utterances of people you disagree with on matters that have nothing whatever to do with Jews or even with Israel. *The Dartmouth Review* isn't about Jews or about Israel, but it is loathed by the Dartmouth administration, which therefore calls it anti-Semitic. *The Nation* magazine can call *The Dartmouth Review* a "hate sheet" and nobody much cares, because (as we shall see below) people who aren't votaries don't expect reasonable editorial conduct from *The Nation*. But the immunities of those who huddle in the fever swamps do not extend to such as the president and administration of Dartmouth College or to important correspondents of the *New York Times*. The fallout of anti-anti-Semitology, moreover, while difficult to quantify, is nevertheless legitimately resented. One gentleman (a neighbor, his stationery reveals) buys the Freedman line and closes a letter to me, "The use of your name helps to give *The Dartmouth Review* credibility that it hasn't earned and doesn't deserve. Isn't it time to dissociate yourself by asking the *Review* to express its 'special thanks' to someone else?"

Another letter, this one from "parents of two sons who are graduates of Dartmouth College": "Most ominous and upsetting to us is the reported fact that several nationally prominent conservatives are supporting this magazine . . . Your name appears among them. . . . We consider you an intelligent conservative with no anti-Semitic or other racist views. Therefore it surprises and disappoints us that . . . you have not up until now come out with a repudiation of its activities." And from Humphrey Tonkin, president of the University of Hartford: "The article by James Freedman in today's *New York Times* only confirms what we already know* from several years of news reports. Don't you think it is time you publicly disassociated yourself from *The Dartmouth Review*?"†

Some letters were intellectually vulgar beyond hope ("Would you knowingly support a publication that quotes Adolf Hitler in its credo?"). Others give the sense of enjoying an opportunity to intimidate. Gerald E. Kochansky, "Ph.D.," sends copies of his letter to Freedman, to the board of trustees of Dartmouth, to the board of directors of Hopkins Institute, and to the editors of *The Dartmouth Review*, the *Daily Dartmouth*, the *Boston Globe*, and the *New York Times*. The operative sentence of his letter is, "If you continue to support *The Dartmouth Review*, any reasonable observer will

*"It is not only what he doesn't know, but what he does know that isn't so." Freud—on Havelock Ellis, was it?

†R. Emmett Tyrrell of *The American Spectator* received such a letter, demanding that he withdraw as a supporter of *The Dartmouth Review*. His answer: "I have now read your letter twice: once while under the influence of a nigh unto invincible influenza and immediately after liberation. Frankly it reads best when accompanied by flu. I have decided to withdraw my association with *The Dartmouth Review* when all right-thinking profs withdraw their association with Dartmouth. The *Review* at least has the excuse of answering to a comic afflatus."

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conclude that your failure to withdraw your financial support [I have never financially supported the *Review*] or to repudiate the publication demonstrates your own bigotry or your tolerance of bigoted attitudes and behavior." But then anyone who has a mailbox is an easy target of bigotry. □

Part 4

THE NATION

IF THE survival of Joe Sobran as a columnist, Pat Buchanan as a media conglomerate, and *The Dartmouth Review* as a thriving college journal is a setback for organized anti-anti-Semitology, it is probably the case that the great reversal began in 1986 with an article by Gore Vidal in *The Nation*. Here Vidal was genuinely and intentionally and derisively anti-Semitic by whatever definition of the term. There is this qualification: namely that he spoke from the Left, which, because it enjoys a certain immunity, watches its language less closely than the Right. It is an immunity that goes with the avant-garde, with iconoclasm. Moreover, in recent years—in particular since the Vietnam War—the Left has tended to identify itself with the anti-military establishment, and Israel gives the impression of being something of a garrison state and is—if only for that reason—an object of inertial disparagement and ridicule.

For Gore Vidal, who is attracted to impiety, Israel and its devout supporters are natural targets. The surprise came not so much when he attacked them as when, so to speak without giving it much thought, the editor of *The Nation*, himself Jewish, published the attack without comment.

The eyebrow-raising aftermath had practically nothing to do with what Vidal said (nobody much cared), but a great deal to do with his having got away with saying it in *The Nation*. Norman Podhoretz devoted the lead essay in *Commentary* (November 1986) to a long article he called "The Hate That Dare Not Speak Its Name." He wrote about the failure of the Vidal piece to mobilize the community generally associated with interracial hygiene. As with his earlier essay ("J'Accuse"), Podhoretz failed to rouse the troops. We will explore alternative explanations why, the most plausible of them that anti-anti-Semitism is alarmingly frail as it walks into senior citizenship, forty years after the Holocaust.

The Vidal Piece

THE TWO-PAGE PIECE by Vidal was entitled "The Empire Lovers Strike Back." Ostensibly the essay was animated by Vidal's concern to strengthen a point previously made by him, namely that the white races of the world needed to band together to meet the economic challenge of the yellow races by calling off the silly cold war that divided us and the Soviet Union, with which we should be allied (this was three years before the liberation of Eastern Europe).

What Vidal was clearly most looking forward to was an opportunity to disparage Norman Podhoretz and his wife, Midge Decter. He went through a Lenny Bruce routine at their expense but then appeared to get very serious. He said that Podhoretz had moved right in the political spectrum in recent years. And he, Gore Vidal, knew why.

Well, why? Here is why.

> The reason for that is simple. In order to get Treasury money for Israel (last year $3 billion), pro-Israel lobbyists must see to it that America's "the Russians are coming" squads are in place so that they can continue to frighten the American people into spending enormous sums for "defense," which also means the support of Israel in its never-ending wars against just about everyone. To make sure that nearly a third of the federal budget goes to the Pentagon and Israel, it is necessary for the pro-Israel lobbyists to make common cause with our lunatic right. Hence, the virulent propaganda.

This is historical exegesis in the special style of Vidal and is interesting only in respect of the search for the shape, forms, and locus of anti-Semitism. Having said that Podhoretz's geopolitical views are anchored to the question, What is needed to continue to send $3 billion to Israel?, Vidal went on to write that Podhoretz is not really an assimilated American. "Rather, his first loyalty would always be to Israel. Yet he and Midge stay on among us, in order to make propaganda and raise money for Israel—a country they don't seem eager to live in. Jewish joke, circa 1900: A Zionist is someone who wants to ship other people off to Palestine."

You see, Vidal explains, Midge Decter has no historical sense of the wrong of American imperialism. This is so "because in the Middle East another predatory people is busy stealing other people's land in the name of an alien theocracy. She is a propagandist for these predators (paid for?) [*sic*], and that is what all this nonsense is about."

Vidal is hardly, in this screening, a mere insinuator:

> Since spades may not be called spades in freedom's land, let me spell it all out. In order to get military and economic support for Israel, a small number of American Jews, who should know better, have made common cause with every sort of reactionary and anti-Semitic group in the United States, from the corridors of the Pentagon to the TV studios of the evangelical Jesus-Christers. [I am genuinely at a loss as to what Vidal means here. That some American Jews collaborate with Christian fundamentalists who regard Israel as a chosen land? How?] To show that their hearts are in the far-right place, they call themselves neoconservatives, and attack the likes of . . . me, all in the interest of supporting the likes of Sharon and Israel as opposed to the Peace Now Israelis whom they disdain. There is real madness here; mischief too.

Vidal quotes Miss Decter: "Well, one thing is clear in all this muddle. Mr. Vidal does not like his country." Vidal replies, "Poor Midge. Of course I like my country.

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After all, I'm its current biographer. But now that we're really leveling with each other, I've got to tell you I don't much like your country, which is Israel."

At this point, as tends to happen to Vidal, he goes a little banshee. It is instructive to record his performance:

> Although there is nothing wrong with being a lobbyist for a foreign power, one is supposed to register with the Justice Department. Also, I should think that tact would require a certain forbearance when it comes to the politics of the host country. But tact is unknown to the Podhoretzes. Joyously they revel in the politics of hate, with plangent attacks on blacks and/or fags and/or liberals, trying, always, to outdo those moral majoritarians who will, as Armageddon draws near, either convert all the Jews, just as the Good Book says, or kill them.

MIDGE DECTER

In that last sentence, there is the sense of neuroses approaching typhonic speed in the mind, the sense of the rush of the daemon taking over the controls as Vidal becomes Captain Queeg tripping into the high delirium it was his original purpose to conceal.

Podhoretz Makes His Move

WHAT ACTUALLY to do about such a performance? To ignore it would seem to make primary sense, and one supposes this would have been done if the screed had appeared in *Screw* magazine, where Vidal has in the past left some of his deposits. But for all that *The Nation* is eccentric-left, it is here and there read by bright people, and the issue in which Vidal's piece was published was the magazine's 120th-anniversary issue.

Podhoretz decided to ignore what the article said, but not to ignore its appearance.

So what he did was write a letter and address it to each of "twenty-nine friends and supporters of *The Nation* whose names were selected both from the magazine's masthead and from the congratulatory messages which had appeared in the anniversary issue."*

As Podhoretz explained in an essay written several months later, Vidal's article "impressed me and many other people as the most blatantly anti-Semitic outburst to have appeared in a respectable American periodical since World War II. *The Nation* is a left-wing (or, some would say, a liberal) magazine run by an editor, Victor Navasky, who is himself Jewish. Yet one reader (who happened not to be Jewish) wrote in a personal letter to Navasky [copy to Podhoretz] that he could not recall encountering 'that kind of naked anti-Semitism' even in papers of the lunatic-fringe Right which specialize in attacks on Jews; to find its like one had to go back to the *Völkische Beobachter*. Nor was he the only reader to be reminded of the Nazi gutter press. 'I thought I was back in the Thirties reading *Der Stürmer*,' wrote another."

Podhoretz's lengthy essay cited historical stereotypes of the alien Jew, some exactly reproduced in Vidal's piece. He examined the possibility that Vidal was nursing personal grievances (not many Jewish critics have taken him seriously as America's "biographer," but then not many non-Jewish critics have either). And Podhoretz made ample room for the dislike by many Americans of positions associated with him and with his wife, and therefore of their derivative dislike of him (it is only human to move from the dislike of a position to a dislike of the position's sponsors). "What I most hoped for," Podhoretz wrote, "was not that others would spring to my defense, but that a protest would be mounted by people sympathetic to *The Nation*'s left-wing political position who would say that while they detested everything Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, and all the other neoconservatives stood for, and while nothing made them happier than seeing neoconservatives raked over the coals, they were outraged by the reintroduction of anti-Semitism into American political discourse in general and their own political community in particular."

The result of the twenty-nine letters that went out from *Commentary* (signed by Marion Magid, the magazine's managing editor), was a total of eight responses. Of the eight, only five† "said they saw anything wrong with the article or with *The Nation*'s decision to publish it." Two (Norman Birnbaum, Tom Wicker) attacked the *Commentary* letter, "either saying nothing about Vidal at all (Birnbaum) or explicitly denying that his article was anti-Semitic (Wicker). The third, the journalist Roger Wilkins, writing to *The Nation* for publication, called Vidal's piece 'splendid.' By contrast, Wilkins said, the attacks on it as anti-Semitic were 'ugly mumblings,' a species of McCarthyism, and a threat to the First Amendment."

Podhoretz then re-examined the standard objection: "Striking a note that would be heard over and over again from defenders of Vidal, Wilkins declared: 'Scoundrels have many last refuges. One is to attack as

*They were: Floyd Abrams, Bella Abzug, Leonard Bernstein, Norman Birnbaum, Bill Bradley, Arthur L. Carter, Ramsey Clark, Arthur C. Danto, Osborn Elliott, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Fred Friendly, Seymour Hersh, Arthur Hertzberg, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, Peter Jennings, Edward Kennedy, Edward Koch, Elinor Langer, Eugene McCarthy, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Robert Silvers, Paul Simon, Gloria Steinem, Rose Styron, Mike Wallace, Tom Wicker, Roger Wilkins.

†Floyd Abrams, Richard Falk, Arthur Hertzberg, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier.

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anti-Semitic any criticism of the policies of any given government of Israel or of any supporters of Israel, no matter how frothing those supporters may be.' . . .

"To put the same idea another way," Podhoretz commented, "it is permissible to make anti-Semitic statements, but it is impermissible to call such statements anti-Semitic."

Anti-Israel Equals Anti-Semitic?

IT WAS a melancholy day at *Commentary*, and indeed for the anti-anti-Semitic community. Podhoretz had been generous in making allowances,* but he did not disguise his dismay.

> . . . one glaring and ugly fact remained: a large number of prominent liberals and leftists who had publicly associated themselves in one way or another with *The Nation*, and whose names had appeared in one capacity or another in the very issue containing so blatantly anti-Semitic an article, had not been sufficiently outraged to register disapproval or to express a protest. Nor did many others on the Left respond by . . . describing Vidal's article as a foul anti-Semitic outburst and expressing dismay or disgust at the fact that a magazine professedly devoted to liberal ideals should have given house room to such an article.

Podhoretz quoted some commentators on the subject, and gave special room to Edwin M. Yoder Jr., the highly literate columnist and editor, associated with the moderate Right. Podhoretz was greatly surprised by Yoder, who dismissed the Vidal essay as innocent of any true bias. It was, Yoder insisted, only "mischievous and cutting . . . in Vidal's best polemical manner."

Podhoretz wrote that Yoder "also counterattacked with the accusation that I, like many (most?) American Jews, have tried to silence any and all criticism of Israel by denouncing such criticism as anti-Semitic, even while pretending otherwise." Yoder had written: "Podhoretz graciously concedes that 'it is possible to criticize Israel without being anti-Semitic.' Thanks, we needed that. But has Podhoretz noticed that if one is critical of an Israeli policy one may be accused of attacking Israel's legitimacy? And, just beyond that, of being a crypto anti-Semite? It was that very logic that drove Podhoretz to mistake Vidal's hard-edged teasing for anti-Semitism."

Podhoretz, who is a skilled verbal pathologist, works hard and successfully to surface the relevant distinction. He did this most usefully here by quoting at some length from the history of his differences with *International Herald-Tribune* columnist William Pfaff, who had delivered (Podhoretz's description) "a lecture on how 'reasonable people' should conduct themselves in discussing the subject of Israel." But, Podhoretz comments, "his main concern . . . was clearly to establish the right of 'an American to criticize or oppose the policies of the state of Israel . . . without an anti-Semitic motivation being imputed.'

"Once again, then, the issue was shifted from the appearance of an anti-Semitic article in a respectable left-wing magazine to the alleged efforts by people like me to silence any and all criticism of Israel."

On this point Pfaff let it be known that he knew, he knew what would be the probable rejoinder. Podhoretz quotes him:

> "I have . . . been myself denounced by Mr. Podhoretz as anti-Semitic because of things I wrote about Israel's conduct during the siege of Beirut in 1982," he told his readers. What he did not tell them was that in one of these "things" he had begun by asserting that in Israel's conduct "Hitler's work goes on," and he had concluded by predicting that Hitler might soon "find rest in Hell" through "the knowledge that the Jews themselves, in Israel, have finally accepted his own way of looking at things." In my article "J'Accuse," I did indeed denounce these words (*not* Pfaff himself) as anti-Semitic.

The engaging point here made has, of course, its complement at the other end of polemical exchanges on the question. Just as it is, at the very least, bizarre to compare the activity of the Israeli army in Lebanon in 1982 to that of the Nazi military anywhere—on the grounds, really, that any analogies between non-totalitarian military and such military as did the work of the Nazis and the Communists are misfits—it is also wrong for such as Abe Rosenthal to invoke Auschwitz when criticizing such things as were done by Pat Buchanan. Another way to put it is that comparisons between the conduct of the Israeli military and that of the legions of Adolf Hitler arouse, and should do so, visions of extermination-camp warfare, and the writer should not intend this unless—how to put it?—he *really intends* it, which is improbable. The comparisons are historically, morally, and forensically unseemly: both the comparison of Israeli military behavior to Nazi military behavior, and the escalation of an anti-Semitic wisecrack like Buchanan's into extermination-camp offensiveness.

Podhoretz continued:

> Since Pfaff (like Yoder a decent man who is intelligent enough to know better) remains convinced that comparing Israel to Nazi Germany represents a "reasonable" application to the Jewish state "of the same moral and political judgments as one applies to the conduct of other states," it is no wonder that all he can see in Vidal is an innocent "critic" of Israel like himself. What he does not see is that it is *he*, and Yoder and Wilkins and Wicker, who erase the line between legitimate criticism of Israel and anti-Semitism by their unwillingness or inability to distinguish between the former and a clear case of the latter like the Vidal article (or like his own comparisons of Israel with Nazi Germany).

This is solemn and responsible criticism, and it informs us, in our search for anti-Semitism, of the mischief done by hyperbole when it reaches out to the dark and highly exclusive corners inhabited by anti-Semitism of the Hitlerian kind. At the same time, it imposes

*"It may be that the politicians among them (Mayor Koch, Senator Bradley, Senator Kennedy) were never shown the letter by whoever handles their mail. This may also have been the case with the media personalities (Peter Jennings of ABC, Mike Wallace of CBS, Charlayne Hunter-Gault of PBS) or with a busy celebrity like Leonard Bernstein."

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disciplines on the anti-anti-Semites. An anti-Semitic crack like Buchanan's isn't of the kind that threatens the discrete territory of Auschwitz. In the post-Hitler world, the flight path of workaday anti-Semitism isn't genocidal. Restraint is enjoined rather by civility and reverence than by any sense of clear and present danger. To call somebody a "whore" in Hollywood exposes her to a different order of discomfort from calling somebody a whore in seventeenth-century Salem.

Yet the discontinuity is rhetorically difficult to handle. We have heard people distinguish between "country club" anti-Semitism and naked anti-Israelism and genocidal indifference. The pain comes from the historical knowledge that prejudice of the first kind can metastasize—and has done so, to be sure by mutation—into Auschwitz. The struggle would appear to be to relegitimize the first kind of prejudice, as one of the evil fruits of free speech and association, while confining its moral offensiveness within reason. The area in which this fight is being waged centers not on country-club admissions, but on Israel. The conviction among some Americans, such as Yoder and Pfaff, is that U.S. policy is manipulated by Jewish Americans who are hell-bent on serving Israeli interests and are prepared to use the weapon of alleged anti-Semitism to immobilize their opponents. The other position is that there resides, in some people's criticisms of Israel, an animus; that that animus is traceable to anti-Semitic dispositions; and that these dispositions need hosing down by moral exposure, for fear that that great fever might be rekindled which once gave us the Holocaust.

GORE VIDAL

The Reaction in 'The Nation'

THIS ESSAY is heavy with quotations from 1) offenders against interreligious comity, 2) defenders of same, 3) anti-anti-Semitologists, 4) analysts of the phenomenon, 5) persons who are confused by the question and tormented by it, 6) defenders of a code of honor in respect of questions having to do with anti-Semitism, and 7) opportunists, apologists, exhibitionists, and provocateurs, who seek to explore the modes by which the question of anti-Semitism is discussed. The classic preface to Fowler's paragraphs on the split infinitive comes to mind: "The English-speaking world may be divided into 1) those who neither know nor care what a split infinitive is; 2) those who do not know, but care very much; 3) those who know and condemn; 4) those who know and approve; and 5) those who know and distinguish." It is nevertheless useful, I think, to quote comprehensively from those who engage themselves in the quarrel, with one eye on their modus operandi, and the mind inquisitive as to their motives, especially to the extent that these are either unstated or presumptively disguised.

The issues of *The Nation* (April 26 and May 3, 1986) that devoted their Letters columns to discussing the Vidal piece are in this respect instructive.

One issue led off with a brief letter from First Amendment fundamentalist Floyd Abrams. Abrams deplored the Vidal essay and "the vulgarity to which Vidal is now reduced in his writing," regretting that *The Nation* would permit its anniversary issue "to be thus soiled." His objection, and the language in which it was phrased, suggested a chemical personal repugnance to what Abrams views as vulgar anti-Semitism. To this objection Vidal (whom the editor had invited to answer critical letters as they appeared) gave a flippant reply: "Simply because, as a lawyer, Floyd Abrams lost *The Nation*'s First Amendment case to a bad novelist named Gerald Ford is no reason not to remain friends."*

Paul Weyrich, the conservative leader, president of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, wrote that, "thankfully, Vidal's vitriolic attacks are so patently unfair and wrongheaded that few except the most rabidly anti-Semitic and ultra-leftist will agree with them. . . . Podhoretz and Decter certainly don't have to prove their loyalty to the United States or explain their support for Israel, one of the few liberal democracies in the world"—a response that sought to defend not only Podhoretz and Decter, but Israel. To this Vidal commented, "Is it possible to have 'one of the few liberal democracies in the world' and exclude from citizenship more than 700,000 Arabs?" The answer to this is, simply, Yes: unless one is willing to rule out the legitimacy of a Jewish nation-state. Which is Israel's *raison d'être*. And the generality that citizenship is denied to Arabs does not distinguish between those Arabs who live in Israel proper and those who live in the captured territories. The former, as we have seen, have citizenship rights, including the vote, although it is true that civil disabilities attach to those of them who decline to serve in the military.

But on the question faced by those Israelis who fear demographic subjugation, there is the point to be made that if, ultimately, a vote were given to every Arab, the state the Israelis created, by means fair and foul, would evolve into another Moslem state. If the point is that a state cannot be designated as a "liberal democracy" if certain residents within that state are denied full citizenship, then the whole question arises of a state's au-

*Floyd Abrams defended *The Nation* unsuccessfully when it prepublished without permission excerpts from President Ford's memoirs.

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thority over immigration laws, and corollary questions having to do with the effects of cultural factors on immigration laws. The Oriental-exclusion acts at the turn of the century were especially objectionable instituted by a country that prided itself on its melting-pot mission. But the society that passed those laws did not cease to qualify, on account of its sponsorship of them, as a liberal democracy even though it hadn't yet got around to giving the vote to seventh-generation Bostonian women.

In answer to Micah Morrison (deputy director, Committee for the Free World), protesting the charge of mixed loyalty, Vidal asks, "Question: What happens if the national interest of Israel is exactly opposite that of the United States? Under which flag does the Israeli-American serve?" To raise the question is to suggest that it is a question a Jewish American might one day need to ask himself. The implied premise is that if so drastic a divergence of interests should happen, the Israelis would clearly be wrong. To begin with, this is unsophisticated. Israel is peopled by refugees, and there is a hypothetical possibility that the future will see refugees from Israel. But then that also is so of the United States. Americans might some day leave America for the same reasons, *mutatis mutandis*, that impelled people in the seventeenth century to come to America.

A second objection is that the question sets up quandaries too surrealistic for the addressee to imagine. If an American citizen is also loyal to another country (protective toward it would more exactly describe what we are talking about), it should be assumed that this is so because that country inspires attachment, tracing to common ancestry, common religion, whatever. If that country and the citizen's incumbent country were now divided by irreconcilable differences, feelings toward the alien country would presumably evanesce: after all, American Jews choose to live in America, not in Israel. A Catholic would be hard put to answer an analogous question, since he would assume that if the Vatican were overtaken by anti-Christian elements, it would cease to be an institution to which the American Catholic felt any loyalty.

To Irving M. Levine of the American Jewish Committee, who cites proudly the hard-liberal credentials of the AJC and pauses to give *Commentary* what sounds like stepfatherly advice, Vidal replies that "the Podhoretzes are doing more to arouse the essential anti-Semitism of the American people than anyone since Father Coughlin." The planted axiom here is that the American people are essentially anti-Semitic. The postwar record of American behavior—toward Israel, toward racial discrimination, toward ecumenism—demolishes that assumption. It leaves open the one question: whether an unblinking endorsement by the preponderant majority of Jewish Americans of Israeli policies offensive to standards by which Americans judge other people, other nations, might revive an anti-Semitism that isn't exactly dead. That question raises the higher

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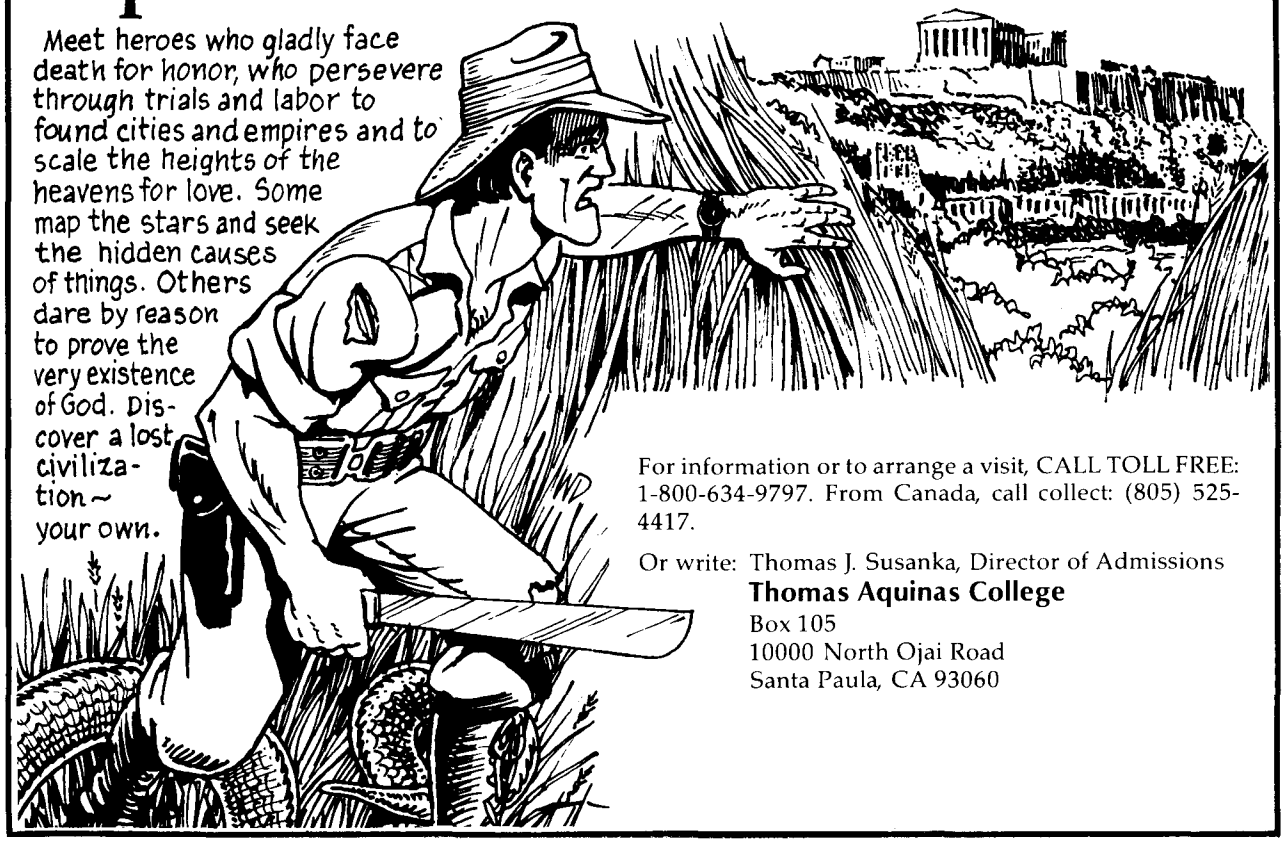
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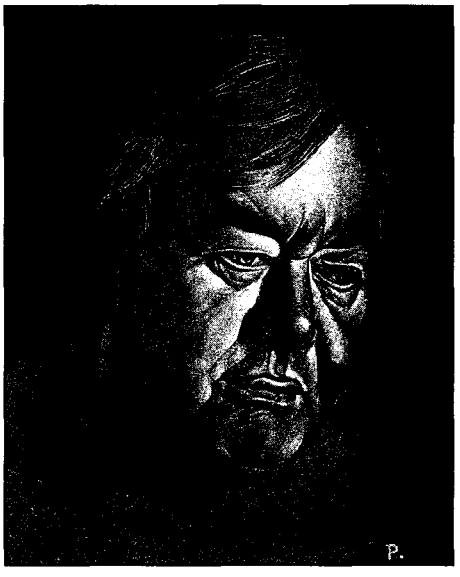
question of co-responsibility. We could, and did, become very anti-German while Hitler was in power, but a very few years after Hitler was dead, anti-German sentiment in America was pretty well gone. It might be said that this was so because there are natural affinities at work to unite a typical American and a typical German.

In the case of Japan, we became convincingly anti-Japanese in the days of Tojo, but after we hanged him we were benevolent toward the Japanese. There is, today, a rising anti-Japanese sentiment, but this has to do with economic damage attributable to Japanese prowess in the marketplace. Because the Japanese is distinctive in appearance, it is easier to personalize that prejudice.



PAT MOYNIHAN

In respect of the Jew it is different. If America turned against Jews because they were thought slavish defenders of intolerable policies, we would confront, in pursuit of anti-Semitism, more readily identifiable figures, in some cases, than the German-American; less readily identifiable, in every case, than the Japanese-American. Some American Jews have distinguishable physical features, and they do not, after all, attend Christian churches. Whether they are otherwise identifiable as Jews has to do with the questions introduced above concerning "group characteristics." Thirty years ago Israeli parents were complaining that their young children, finding themselves in a society in which anti-Semitic discrimination was inconceivable, were relaxing traditional standards, greatly needed elsewhere in order to excel. This would suggest that as acculturation proceeds, the American Jew will not be as distinguishable as he once was. The group characteristics of which Charles Seymour spoke are progressively impalpable. On the other hand, observers can confidently document that whatever the experience of young Israelis, there aren't yet any indications that Jewish affinity for intellectual distinction or for the arts is dissipating at a noticeable rate of speed.

To the editor of the *China Daily News*, Evans Chan, who wrote to *The Nation* to protest Vidal's Yellow Peril business, Vidal commented that, after all, the yellow races were doing no more to us than we have done to them in the past, and we have only to take the obvious countermeasures. "I propose that the United States and the Soviet Union—two economic wrecks, thanks to the arms race—as the two great powers of the Northern Hemisphere, unite in order to compete, *economically*, with the Asiatic world." Mr. Vidal's notion of the critical contribution that the Soviet Union is in a position to make to the economic ascendancy of the West will no doubt inspire reformers in what is left of the Soviet economy.

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg regretted that Vidal "veers off into a diatribe against both Jews and Arabs, suggesting that he would not weep very much if they got out of America's hair, even if that meant that they would 'blow one another up, or whatever.' This is the screaming rhetoric of American nativism, in the accents of patrician highhandedness and self-righteousness. Gore Vidal has clearly been reading too much of Henry Adams." Vidal: "This was my 'screaming rhetoric': 'The time has come for the United States to stop all aid not only to Israel but to Jordan, Egypt, and the rest of the Arab world. The Middle Easterners would then be obliged to make peace, or blow one another up, or whatever.' The good rabbi, eager to add his eloquent voice to the chorus of hate, carefully left out 'to make peace,' the whole point to my suggestion. Luckily, I am used to being lied about." Anyone who lies about Mr. Vidal is doing him a kindness.

And What of Zionism?

LET US CONCEDE that some critics of Israel *are* in fact anti-Semitic. An illuminating way to put it is this: Suppose that Israel were, in a vague kind of way, an entirely model society, insulated from border wars or ethnic strife, vaguely liberal, progressive, something on the order of, oh, Sweden. Resolute anti-Semites would then need to look for grounds other than the policies of the Israeli government in order to exercise their prejudice.

Would they merely refocus their energies on keeping the American Jew out of the country club? Or would they need greater scope to exercise their animus?

It is hard to say. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, when blasting the United Nations General Assembly in 1975 for its resolution "Zionism is a form of racism . . . ," reminds us that in the late nineteenth century, anti-Semitism was frustrated by the ambient secularism. So long as anti-Semitic energies could be directed at Jewish theological practices, anti-Semites could appease their appetites. But as religion began to matter less and less, differences in religious practice mattered correspondingly less and less; so that, for instance, the ancient wars between Catholics and Protestants became formalistic, except in those areas where Catholics and Protestants 1) occupied different territories, 2) came from different racial stock, and 3) yearned—or did not yearn—for national independence. This situation is unique to Ireland, where hostilities continue to this day, making possible the old saw about the visitor who is perplexed by the endless religious antagonism and blurts out, "But aren't there any *atheists* in Ireland?" "Yes," his guide concedes, "but there are *Catholic* atheists and *Protestant* atheists."

Moynihan places the evolution of ethnic anti-Semi-

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tism in the two or three decades before the turn of the century, his purpose here being to illustrate to his fellow delegates at the United Nations how terribly wrongheaded they were in imputing racism to Zionism.

The good guys in the General Assembly did not have all that easy a terminological time of it up against their tormentors who insisted on the Zionist–racist linkage, and this was owing to a technicality. Ambassador Abdallah al-Sayegh of Kuwait (and others) noted that Article 1 of the UN's Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination included under the term "racial discrimination" any "distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on . . . national or ethnic origin." Zionism, he charged, is a "concrete political ideology" manifested in "concrete practices which have the effect of excluding some people on the basis of their being non-Jews and including others on the basis of their being Jews—Jewishness being defined officially as an ethnic and not strictly religious definition."

Now this is in part true. Abe's mother, Rebecca, is Jewish. According to Jewish law, Abe is Jewish—unless he renounces Judaism and embraces Christianity. Absent such a renunciation, he has the right to instant citizenship in Israel (The Law of Return). That right extends equally to anyone, of whatever religious or ethnic background, who formally converts to Orthodox Judaism.

If Abe is indifferent to his religion but doesn't convert to Christianity, all he needs to do, should he desire full citizenship in Israel, is to adduce his mother's religion. This option is not available to non-Jews. Given that Abe's relation to his mother is biological and derivatively ethnic, his claim to Israeli citizenship can be held to trade on ethnic discrimination. And that puts Israel in violation of Article 1 of the UN's Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

But to pursue this line of argument has the effect of disallowing Zionism as a legitimate sponsor of a Jewish homeland, and dumps us all into a discussion on the face of it unprofitable, inasmuch as any resolution that says that Jews cannot sponsor a homeland for other Jews, defined according to their own laws, is hardly worth having. Moreover, those who choose to rail against Judaism's sponsorship, under its laws, of a kind of apartheid should ask themselves rigorously whether it is the law they are objecting to, or its sponsorship by Jews. Those who have been protractedly upset by Israel's West Bank policies (which policies, unlike Judaic law, do not have the immunities that attach to religious traditions millennia old) and were indifferent to apartheid in South Africa betray either selective indignation or else indifference to human rights in sub-Saharan Africa, which makes them vulnerable as moralists.

The spirited and eloquent defense of Israel by Mr. Moynihan began with some syllogistic play. He reminded his fellow delegates that whereas in the UN there is always talk of "racial discrimination," there had up until that day (November 10, 1975) been hardly any talk of "racism." Moynihan singled out the

> one occasion that we have been able to find on which we know it to have been discussed . . . the 1,644th meeting of the Third Committee on 16 December 1968 . . . On that occasion—to give some feeling for the intellectual precision with which the matter was being treated—the question arose as to what should be the relative positioning of the terms "racism" and "Nazism" in a number of preambular paragraphs. The distinguished representative of Tunisia argued that "racism" should go first because, he said, Nazism was a form of racism. Not so, said the no less distinguished representative of the USSR, for, he explained, Nazism contained all the main elements of racism within its ambit and *should be mentioned first. That is to say that racism* was merely a form of Nazism. . . .
>
> One cannot but ponder the situation we have made for ourselves in the context of the Soviet statement on that not-so-distant occasion. If, as the distinguished representative declared, racism is a form of Nazism, and if, as this resolution declares, Zionism is a form of racism, then we have step

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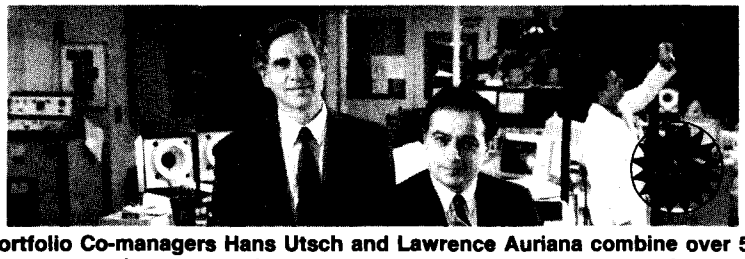

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by step taken ourselves to the point of proclaiming—the United Nations is solemnly proclaiming—that Zionism is a form of Nazism.

That semantical *jeu de mots* was very nice.

Professor Moynihan then delivered a paragraph on the history of the dreaded word:

> The word "racism" is a creation of the English language, and relatively new to it. It is not, for instance, to be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. [The first and, at the time Moynihan spoke, only edition.] The term derives from relatively new doctrines, all of them discredited [I am not sure that this is so, if somatological and psychometric criteria are weighed], concerning the human population of the world, to the effect that there are significant biological differences among clearly identifiable groups, and that those differences establish, in effect, different levels of humanity. Racism, as defined by Webster's Third *New International Dictionary*, is "the assumption that . . . traits and capacities are determined by biological race and that races differ decisively from one another." It further involves "a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination over others."

Moynihan then moved in for the kill, but he gave the delegates a little historical foreplay:

> That meaning [the superiority of one race over another] . . . has always been altogether alien to the political and religious movement known as Zionism. As a strictly political movement, Zionism was established only in 1897, although there is a clearly legitimate sense in which its origins are indeed ancient. For example, many branches of Christianity have always held that from the standpoint of the Biblical prophets, Israel would be reborn one day. But the modern Zionist movement arose in Europe in the context of a general upsurge of national consciousness and aspiration that overtook most other peoples of Central and Eastern Europe after 1848 and that in time spread to all of Africa and Asia. It was to those persons of the Jewish religion a Jewish form of what today is called a national liberation movement. Probably a majority of those persons who became active Zionists and sought to emigrate to Palestine were born within the confines of Czarist Russia. . . .
>
> Now it was the singular nature—if I am not mistaken it was the unique nature—of that national liberation movement that, in contrast with the movements that preceded it, those of that time, and those that have come since, it defined its members not in terms of birth but of belief. That is to say, it was not a movement of the Irish to free Ireland or of the Polish to free Poland; not a movement of Algerians to free Algeria or of Indians to free India.
>
> It was not a movement of persons connected by historical membership in a genetic pool of the kind that enables us to speak loosely but not meaninglessly of, say, the Chinese people, nor yet of diverse groups occupying the same territory, which enables us to speak of the American people with no greater indignity to truth. To the contrary, Zionists defined themselves merely as Jews, and declared to be Jewish anyone born of a Jewish mother or—and this is the absolutely crucial fact—anyone who converted to Judaism. . . .
>
> The State of Israel, which in time was created by the Zionist movement, has been extraordinary for nothing so much as the range of . . . "racial stocks" from which it has drawn its citizenry. There are black Jews, brown Jews, white Jews, Jews from the Orient and Jews from the West. Most such persons could be said to have been "born" Jews, just as most Presbyterians and most Hindus are "born" to their faith, but there are many Jews who are converts. And with a consistency in the matter which surely attests to the importance of this issue to that religious and political culture, Israeli courts have held that a Jew who converts to another religion is no longer a Jew. In the meantime the population of Israel also includes large numbers of non-Jews, among them Arabs of both the Muslim and Christian religions and Christians of other national origins. Many of those persons are citizens of Israel, and those who are not can become citizens by legal procedures very much like those that obtain in a typical nation of Western Europe.

There are problems here, of course, tracing to the policies already described. The son of a Christian is in no legal sense "a Christian." That is not true of the son of a Jew, who under the laws of Israel, is "a Jew," entitled to instant citizenship. On the other hand, no state has ever been established as a "homeland" for Christians. If such a nation had been founded, surely the probability is that the son of the Christian mother would be presumed Christian, and therefore entitled to the special treatment which it was the purpose of the Christian state to serve.

But the United Nations General Assembly was unmoved, and passed the Zionism-is-racism resolution by a vote of 72 to 35.

A Modest Proposal

ON THE QUESTION that irritates many Americans (myself included, from time to time), of U.S. Government servitude to Israeli foreign policy, I wrote twenty years ago something in the nature of a fantasy, though it was presented (in two syndicated columns) as a mock-serious Modest Proposal (my colleague James Burnham termed it a "metaphysical joke"). What set me off was candidate George McGovern, who had just received the Democratic nomination in Miami and had immediately made pledges to Israel of a kind that were out of season, given his sturdily anti-Vietnam campaign and its overtones of isolationism.

I recalled that when, in 1967, Israel had been threatened and the Six Day War exploded, prominent American liberals had paused in their clamor to get us out of the Southeast Asian imbroglio long enough to produce a highly publicized declaration for getting us *into* the Mideast imbroglio, causing Professor John Roche of Brandeis to remark wryly that their manifesto should have been labeled "Doves for War." They got quite sore at Professor Roche—sometime president of Americans for Democratic Action, and later an aide to President Lyndon Johnson—who was as resolutely pro South Vietnamese independence as he has always been for Israeli independence.

What it came down to in Democratic politics was simple: Where Israel was concerned, the encroaching demands for a reticent American international profile did

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not apply. I remember confronting John Kenneth Galbraith on the point in one of our daily television exchanges at the Democratic Convention in Miami. What he said, simply and honestly, was, "I confess I have a special affection for Israel."

"Indeed a lot of us do," I wrote. "Not only for reasons of compassion that reach into history, ancient and horribly contemporary. But because there is so much in the behavior of the leaders of the modern state of Israel that we need to learn from. . . . If General Dayan had managed our war against Hanoi, that too would have been a six-day war."

McGovern, I wrote, "likes to point to Israeli democracy as his justification [for endorsing Israel], but this of course is disingenuous. After all, he is also quoted as desiring to recognize the 'legitimate' government of China, which can hardly be justified by his attraction to democratic government. Meanwhile Mr. McGovern angrily disparages the government of South Vietnam.

"The problem is to reason from the legitimacy of Mao Tse-tung's government on over to the illegitimacy of President Thieu's. Never mind. Better to be straightforward like Galbraith, and say simply that Israel occupies a 'special' place in the American heart.

"While you are at it, be even more straightforward than Galbraith. Recognize that on top of that special affection, a U.S. pledge to Israeli independence is for the time being necessary for anyone who aspires to be President, for the simple reason that the strategically situated Jewish community is for the most part very generous in backing political causes and very insistent on the matter of Israeli independence."

But, I warned, "what holds for Saigon today [this was July 1972] holds *mutatis mutandis* for Tel Aviv tomorrow. . . . The contradiction cannot hope to survive indefinitely. The Jewish community in Israel, and indeed in the United States, cannot reasonably suppose that an American public finally persuaded by George McGovern that we should consider the cold war ended will fail to act on the consequences of that assumption."

So, I concluded, elaborating a fancy that gave prominence to two elusively important considerations, there was a logical next step for those who feel that our relationship to Israel is something truly unique that should be shielded from the vagaries of public passion. "As things stand, we suffer most of the disadvantages, and enjoy none of the advantages, of separate nationhood. Why should we not propose to Israel annexation, as the 51st American state?"*

Israel as a Point of Light

THE STATE OF ISRAEL raises additional questions, one of them caught in an exchange precipitated by Norman Podhoretz's accusations leveled in 1982 (in the essay "J'Accuse") against critics of Israel during the march into Lebanon. As we have noted, Podhoretz in that piece expanded on the conventional definition. An anti-Semite, he wrote, is someone who labels certain vices and failings as specifically Jewish, or, correlatively, denies to Jews rights unchallengeably accorded to others. Anthony Lewis had written about Israel's desire to "exterminate Palestinian nationalism" in preparation for the annexation of the West Bank. Lewis wrote to tell me that he was aware of the charge of a double standard as applied to Israel, but that he did not think it anti-Semitic to work a particular distinction. "Yes," Lewis wrote, "there is a double standard [in judging Israel]. From its birth, Israel asked to be judged as a light among the nations." This is effective self-retrieval, but the effect is not long-lasting. It is hard to find a nation that, at the moment of its emergence, does not crown itself as something of a city on a hill.

Israel is a modern state, beleaguered from the first day of its existence, opportunistic in its struggles to survive (as most countries tend to be), and it confronts, unresolved, questions about its future that deeply divide its own people. One-half of those Israelis who favor the occupation of the West Bank do so because they feel the pull of Biblical irredentism. But one-half do so only because they believe the occupation necessary for reasons of national defense. And (about) one-half of the country opposes occupying the West Bank, 85 per cent of whose residents are Arabs. The United States finds itself caught up in the internal quarrels of its stepchild, which didn't make it as our 51st state, depriving me of any chance of going down in history as a goy prophet.

In summary, during its history Israel has put forward four arguments in support of its special claims on the support of the West, and of America in particular. The first of these is, in effect, reparations for the Holocaust. The second, Israel's fidelity to the West during the cold war. The third, its democratic singularity in a virulently anti-democratic part of the world. And the fourth, and by far the most muted, Judaism's covenantal entanglement with Christianity, from which derives the religio-moral obligation of Christians to ensure the survival of the Jews. The first of these claims declines

*For the sake of the exercise, I carried on for a bit.

"What would we have to lose?

"If we are in any case committed to Israeli survival, as most political parties insist we are, pending that change in public attitude we speak of, then we would go to war in any case if Israel's sovereignty were threatened.

"Israel is geographically remote? It isn't any further from Washington than Alaska and Hawaii. . . .

"A language barrier? Ask Switzerland how insupportable that is. Anyway, Senator Robert Kennedy insisted, and won his point, that Spanish-speaking New Yorkers should be permitted to vote. Why not Hebrew-speaking Americans?

"If Israel's foreign policy were written in Washington, the Arab countries' fear of Israeli expansionism would end. We could begin by giving back to Egypt, and to Jordan, most of the territories conquered during the 1967 war, and retained by Israel, as Israeli officials have repeatedly assured us, for reasons of military defense only. If Israel becomes a part of the United States, there is no further question of attacking the State of Israel—as well attack the city of Chicago.

"The net result would be the introduction of a genuine state of serenity to the Arab region. . . .

"Would Israel object? Some Israelis unquestionably would, though not all by any means, provided we affirmed our dedication to states' rights, and pledged a constitutional amendment to modify the harsh restrictions against the public practice of religion improvised by the Warren Court. [Etc.]"

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over time, as time distances us from the Holocaust. The second evanesces with the end of the cold war. The third is of diminishing strength, as that portion of America's pro-democratic fervor that was animated by cold-war alliances diminishes.

We are left with the fourth claim, which, however, makes the more secularized Jewish community, in combination with the hyper-Orthodox, uncomfortable. The result of all of this is a continuing effort to invigorate the first claim, but probably against the competing tug in America toward policies oriented not only to post-Nazi, but to post-Holocaust priorities. These inevitably inspire the most heated efforts of the Israel lobby. □

Part 5

CONCLUSIONS

THE SURVIVAL of the editor of *The Nation* after the Gore Vidal episode tells us that anti-Semitism with Israel as its focus is no longer professionally suicidal. Granted, some would argue that because the editor of *The Nation* is himself Jewish, he enjoyed an immunity that would not have been extended to the Gentile.

But what explains, five years later, the survival of Pat Buchanan? Here was a Gentile who said things about Jews that could not reasonably be interpreted as other than anti-Semitic in tone and in substance. His conduct precipitated, as we have seen, pressures on newspaper editors and program managers to discharge him. As far as I can tell, these pressures were of no avail: Buchanan's reach is as extended today as in the fall of 1990, when he was suggesting that, in America, only satellites of Israel favored military action against Iraq. He thus, with a dozen keystrokes, transformed a majority of Republican legislators and a plurality of Democrats, to say nothing of independent warmongers like me and NATIONAL REVIEW, into satellites of Israel.

As noted, Pat Buchanan survived. He would not have done so, in my opinion, ten years ago; which is why I speak of Auschwitz having become a senior citizen, fading away as the dynamic arbiter of the nation's moral reflexes. This development is welcome in one sense, unwelcome in another. If it intimates a creeping cultural–political insensibility to anti-Semitism, then it is both wrong and alarming. If it suggests only that the public feels free to react against intimidation on the subject of Israel, then it is healthy.

John Judis, writing in *The New Republic* (August 11 and 18, 1986) on the subject of "The Conservative Wars," describes the quarrel between conservatives and neoconservatives—a "war" more written about than engaged in. It is correct that there are disparate impulses within the schools of conservatism. But factionalism of this kind is quite general; we find it within socialism, liberalism, social democracy, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism. The division that interests us here has to do with the public identification of neoconservatism with Jewish scholars. Mr. Judis writes about a meeting in 1986 of the Philadelphia Society, an old-line conservative intellectual forum (I was its co-founder) that brings off an annual meeting and two or three regional meetings every year. "Some of the themes voiced in Chicago," Judis says,

> struck even some conservatives as at best "anti-cosmopolitanism" (Burton Pines's term) [Mr. Pines is senior vice president for research at the Heritage Foundation, and Jewish] and at worst "anti-Semitic." The speech that most troubled the neoconservatives was by Stephen Tonsor. What one neoconservative described as a "hooded" version was printed in NATIONAL REVIEW. Like [Professor M. E.] Bradford and the others, Tonsor attacked the neoconservatives for being interlopers. Referring to their leftist pasts, he remarked, "It is splendid when the town whore gets religion and joins the church. Now and then she makes a good choir director, but when she begins to tell the minister what he ought to say in his Sunday sermons, matters have been carried too far."
>
> Tonsor identified conservatism with Christianity. Ignoring the seminal role played in the 1950s by Jewish or agnostic intellectuals [This is too loose a definition: he should have added "Gentile." There are many agnostic "Christians" who nevertheless identify themselves with conservative-Christian politics, France's Charles Maurras the most conspicuous in recent times.] such as Henry Hazlitt, Willi Schlamm, James Burnham, Frank Meyer, Max Eastman, Eugene Lyons, Ralph de Toledano, Leo Strauss, and Milton Friedman, Tonsor declared that conservatism's "world view is Roman or Anglo Catholic." In contrast, Tonsor identified neoconservatism with the "instantiation of modernity among secularized Jewish intellectuals." Commenting on Tonsor's speech and the articles in [an issue of] the *Intercollegiate Review* [focusing on the neocons], Midge Decter said, "It's this notion of a Christian civilization. You have to be part of it or you're not really fit to conserve anything. That's an old line and it's very ignorant."

Indeed it is an old line and indeed it is ignorant. But this is not the place to explore that question. Instead we ask only whether the *asseveration* is inherently an act of anti-Semitism. It is not: To claim that all the pillars of conservatism are Christian is not racially or ethnically invidious, though it may be chauvinist. It is an historical and philosophical misreading, in particular given that Christian thought is Judaeo-Christian in origin.

Judis went on. At the Chicago meeting, he wrote, there were intimations that neoconservatives were more loyal to Israel than to the United States—"a charge of 'dual loyalty' that the anti-Semitic Right of the late 1940s and early 1950s (when Zionism was a liberal cause) had leveled against Democratic supporters of Israel." Judis interviewed several of the participants who, he said, made these charges "explicit."

> Russell Kirk, who tried to calm the tempers at the Chicago meeting, said in a telephone interview: "What really animates the neoconservatives, especially Irving Kristol, is the preservation of Israel. That lies in back of everything." Paul Gottfried said, "I don't think one can differentiate the neoconservatives from the very large Jewish composition of the movement, and the fact that many of the Jewish leaders

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of the movement broke from the Left precisely over the question of Israel and other Jewish issues and therefore are going to take a very strong pro-Israeli position." He added, "I happen to think that position corresponds to American interests, but I think the neoconservatives would make it appear such no matter what."

We should all know that when examining political declamations in search of venality ("What's good for General Motors is good for the country"; "For he today that sheds his blood with me shall be my brother"), it is a good rule to peel away a few storeys of rhetoric to make room for the convention of hyperbole, the tall-tale gristle of American humor. "I swear he is taller than the Eiffel Tower" translates idiomatically as that he is, oh, six feet six. Russell Kirk, an eminent scholar who has written fifty books, five thousand scholarly essays, and five million columns (allow me the hyperbole), suddenly trips into the anti-Semitic spotlight for saying that the preservation of Israel "lies in back of everything" the neocons believe in. Obviously if one is seeking the point, as distinguished from impaling a polemical target, it makes sense to transcribe that as, "The preservation of Israel is important to the neocons, many of whom are Jewish Americans." So handled, the statement is not really very inflammatory, and has the benefit of being correct. So also would it be correct to say that the preservation of Israel is important to most non-Jewish Americans. Gallup did a poll after the OPEC cartel went into action in 1969, tripling the price of gasoline at the local gas station. It asked whether support for Israel was costing us too much and whether therefore we should diminish that support. The pollsters found no difference in public support for our Mideast policy (about 70 per cent in favor) even after the cartel's heavy imposition on the American consumer. It is mischievous to assume that because Tonsor wants to put a Christian-religious pedigree on conservatism as he understands it, and Kirk believes that neocons are (mostly) pro-Israel, therefore anti-Semitism is creeping into the Kirk–Tonsor Division of American Conservatism.

At this point it is useful to isolate one cause of tension. Although this deals formally with religion, it is less a question of religious than of civic contention. I prefer to quote Irving Kristol on the question (*NR*, December 30, 1988) than to say it myself, though our thoughts on the subject are the same. There is the obvious advantage that Kristol is himself Jewish; the other advantage, unhappily equally obvious, is that I cannot surpass him in lucid social analysis. "The kind of tension that is now building up between Jews and Christians," he wrote in NATIONAL REVIEW three years ago,

> has very little to do with traditional discrimination, and everything to do with efforts by liberals—among whom, I regret to say, Jews are both numerous and prominent—to establish a wall between religion and society, in the guise of maintaining the wall between church and state. The major Jewish organizations proceed from the correct proposition that legally and constitutionally we are not a Christian nation, to the absurd proposition that we are in no sense at all a Christian society. They are aware, of course, that the overwhelming majority of Americans are Christians, but insist that their religion be a totally private affair, one that finds

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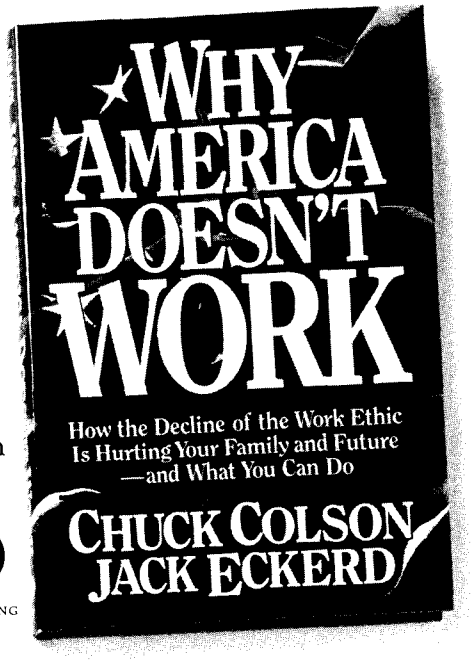
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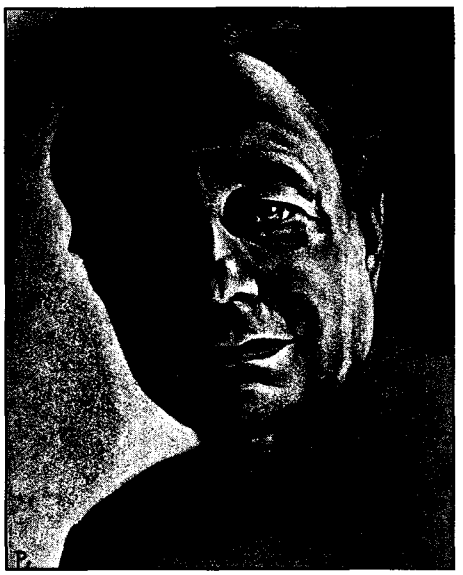
no public expression and receives no public deference. Such insistence shows a lamentable ignorance of history, sociology, and psychology.

Kristol brings up the matter of religious practices in the State of Israel, but to make other than the easy point that Israel is in a formal sense a Jewish state:

> Today, in Israel—still theoretically that strange hybrid: a secular but Jewish state—there is no debate over the separation of church and state, only a debate over where one draws the line in the involvement of religion with both society and state. There is every bit as much religious toleration in Israel as in the United States,* and Christians and Moslems are free to practice their religion without let or hindrance. But the Israeli government closes down on Yom Kippur, not on Christmas.



IRVING KRISTOL

And, of course, in America, the government closes down on Christmas:

> I see nothing wrong with that, just as I see nothing wrong with the public schools in New York City closing down on Yom Kippur. It is common sense and common prudence for a secular government not to put itself unnecessarily at odds with the religious sensibilities of its citizenry. Diplomacy and tact is called for, not ruthless self-denial, which is what the American Civil Liberties Union calls for. Unfortunately, many Jews seem to think that the extreme secularism of the ACLU is their best guarantee of religious, social, and political equality. Since I believe that such extreme secularism is *contra naturam*—except in a nation of atheists or agnostics, which the United States is not—I also believe that the American Jewish community is misguided in its now-dominant dogmatic view of how the relations between the two religions are to be structured.
>
> The Jewish view, that religion ought to be an exclusively private affair with no public involvement, is the understandable view of a religious minority with long and vivid memories of official anti-Semitism, discrimination, and persecution. But the inescapable truth is that Jews are not going to be able to impose this view on the Christian majority of the United States. It is just too extreme—so extreme that, even now, the major Jewish organizations stop short of arguing against the status of Christmas as a national holiday, or school closings on Yom Kippur in some localities, or all sorts of other, traditional intrusions of religious expression and ritual into public life.

Mr. Kristol makes now a shrewd observation having to do—notwithstanding his point about the dominant Christian culture—with the dilution of Protestant dogma during the critical period of secularization:

> One reason American Jews were able to take seriously the prospect of a near-total divorce between religion and society was the attitude of the major Protestant organizations, whose liberal Protestantism was more keenly interested in social reform than in religious belief. Jews prefer Christians whose Christianity is lukewarm and therefore, they feel, less likely to lead to Christian anti-Semitism of a kind our Jewish ancestors experienced for centuries in Europe. This is perfectly understandable. But it is also a parochial perspective, out of tune with current realities, and this for two reasons.

He distinguishes now between contemporary sources of anti-Semitism, and foresees a revival in Protestant faith.

> First, the anti-Semitism that has been so dangerous to Jews [in this century], and is still so dangerous today, is not Christian anti-Semitism. It is neo-pagan anti-Semitism (Nazi and Fascist), or Moslem fundamentalist anti-Semitism, or Marxist anti-Semitism, or simply nationalist chauvinist anti-Semitism of a kind one now finds in Japan (of all places!) or Latin America. Our major Jewish organizations are oriented, almost hypnotically and surely atavistically, to the past rather than to the present or future.
>
> Secondly, it is ridiculous to think that liberal–modernist–secular Protestant Christianity would remain forever "the wave of the future," and that never again would Christians want to be devout. Ever since World War II and the Holocaust, large numbers of American Jews have felt impelled to become "more Jewish," in one way or another. But the American Jewish community as a whole—always excluding the ultra-Orthodox, who are uninterested in Christians—was surprised to discover, was positively alarmed to discover, that something like a Christian revival was also occurring, primarily among the evangelical wing of Protestantism. So the Jewish organizations keep anxiously looking for signs of anti-Semitism among "born-again" Christians, exaggerate the few such expressions they do find, and wait for this phenomenon to pass. I don't think it will pass. I believe the secular era is fading, that Jews (at least those who remain Jews) will become more Jewish, Christians more Christian, Moslems more Moslem, Hindus more Hindu, etc.

I do not from personal experience know whether what

*Not quite so, and thereby hangs a tale. The *New York Times* of June 10, 1977, reported that in his effort to form a coalition government, Menachem Begin pledged to the Orthodox religious bloc to seek legislation "to prohibit Christian missionary activity among Jews." An effort to ascertain whether such legislation was passed took me first to an American scholar who has been helpful in checking facts pertaining to Israel, on which he is an authority. He confessed ignorance on this question and referred me to the Israeli Consulate in New York. A call there also elicited ignorance on the question, together with a promise to fax Israel to get the information. But notwithstanding a couple of prods with promises of cooperation, the question was never answered. One report—from a scholar who relies on his memory—is that the legislation was indeed passed, but restricted itself to making it unlawful for any missionary to "bribe" an Israeli citizen, intending to proselytize another religion. If so, this would make illegal the free distribution of the New Testament. In the absence of protests from the missionary wing of the Christian churches, one assumes that either the law is a dead letter, or else that it is so effective as to eliminate evangelization.

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then follows, in Kristol's analysis, is so, in part because of course he is Jewish and better equipped to interpret the signs about us; but I find it important because of the keenness of his social sense, and his special powers to draw interesting and seductive conclusions:

> American Jews are utterly unprepared for this new world, in which Christians wish to be more Christian without necessarily being anti-Semitic. They doubt the very possibility of this happening. I am willing to contemplate such a possibility. Which is why I refuse to get excited about a crèche being erected outside a town hall, or students in public schools singing Christmas carols or even putting on a Nativity play. In those communities that are predominantly Christian, this is to be anticipated and Jews can live with it. . . .
>
> Tact and prudence: the recovery of these virtues, by both Jews and Christians, seems to me the key to decent relations between these two religious groups. I think it is foolish in the extreme for Jews even to appear to be anti-Christian, just as it would be wrong for Christians even to appear to be anti-Semitic. . . .
>
> This Christmas, as in all Christmases past and future, there will be no Christmas tree in my home. But I am not anti-Christian and see nothing wrong with the Christian majority erecting Christmas trees on public property. Indeed, I have what I regard as a theologically positive view of Christianity. Like the greatest Jewish theologian of this century, Franz Rosenzweig, I see Christianity as a sister religion to Judaism, as a form of "Judaism for the Gentiles."

In his essay, Irving Kristol touched on the question of the minority, the outsider. I have thought for many years about the phenomenon, in part because as a Roman Catholic I have always thought myself something of an outsider. I have to confess that when, at a Protestant boarding school, I announced (age 15) that I would not be attending Sunday Protestant services at the school chapel, going instead with two or three other Catholic students and one faculty member to the Catholic church five miles away, I found the experience other than self-isolating: I think I actually got something of a kick out of it, as many Catholics did during those decades when, for instance, they would politely decline to eat meat served to them on Fridays. For this reason I read with special empathy Michael Kinsley on a subject I have never myself written about:

> "On a practical level [Kinsley is quoting a document of the American Civil Liberties Union], a child whose family does not believe in the Divinity of Christ must view the public crèche as a symbolic representation of his or her status as an outsider. The child will question . . . his identification with the American culture."

I think that's right. But I also think this child had better learn early on to question his identification with the American culture, because it's a tough question that will follow him all his life no matter how successful the ACLU is in banning nativity scenes. There is a majority culture in this country. It is Christian, white, middle class. Jews and nonbelievers (I am both) are outsiders to some extent in that culture. So are blacks, homosexuals, Orientals, and so on. This is so even though we are a society that is constantly remaking itself, and a society committed to protecting the civil rights and economic opportunities of minorities. The battle for minority rights goes on, of course, but does final victory require eradication of the majority culture? And is every manifestation of that culture an insult to those who aren't fully a part of it? . . .

In theory, there is a difference between the society and the polity. In practice, the difference is impossible to police. The majority culture needs some degree of government sanction, and attempts to prevent the government from recognizing this are futile. December 25 has to be a national holiday. If we are going to get any work done at all we can't add Chanukah and Ramadan.

Mr. Kinsley closes with an animating thought that exactly reflects my own experience as a Catholic:

> Far from being a handicap, a sense of "outsiderness" can be a great asset in a society that does, in the end, try to protect the rights of cultural outsiders. It energizes, promotes skepticism, gives perspective. I would not want my child to grow up completely comfortable in his surroundings, never forced to "question . . . his identification with the American culture." The enormous literary contribution of homosexuals, the prominence of Jews in courageous social causes of

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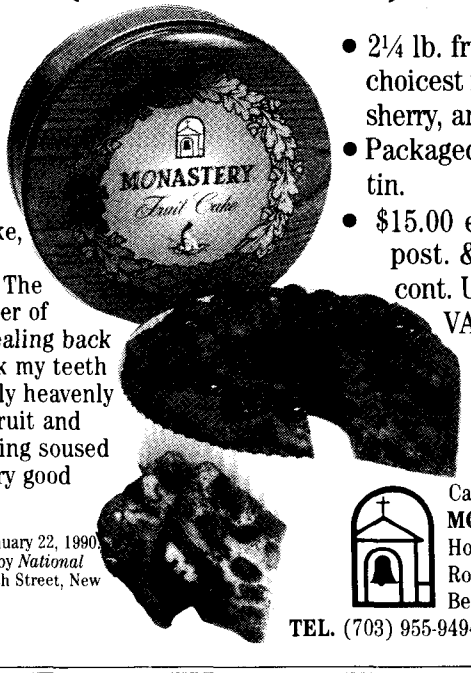

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all sorts, the creation of jazz by blacks all derive in part from the discomfort of being outside the majority culture. I am happy to be a bit of an outsider in my own country. I am no less an American for it, and may even hope to be a better one as a result.

A Case Study

SO THE ongoing debate over the religion clauses in the First Amendment no doubt generates anti-Semitic resentment to the extent that the fundamentalist separationists are thought of as predominantly Jewish. Here is a source of tension, but not comparable to the divisiveness of the question of Israel, a tension that climaxed as these words were written in September 1991. It savages reality to suppose that such differences as do divide us over Israel's policies in the occupied territories will always be transacted in hygienic democratic circumstances. No, notwithstanding that the Israeli government's policies (under Yitzhak Shamir) are themselves supported by only a bare majority of Israelis, the government of Israel governs Jewish American organized sentiment in these matters. Here is the headline in the *New York Times* (September 15, 1991—as it happens, on the day these words are being written):

PRO-ISRAEL LOBBY READIES FOR FIGHT

In Opposing Quick Action on Backing for Loans,
Bush Faces a Powerful Foe

By Adam Clymer
Special to The New York Times

—And the story, excerpted:

> Israel's supporters in American politics put at least $4 million into last year's election campaign, sent at least 1,000 volunteers to Capitol Hill last week, and are trying very hard to sign up sizable, perhaps veto-proof majorities in Congress to back the loan guarantees, which are meant to help Israel provide housing for its large influx of Soviet Jewish émigrés.
>
> President Bush, who wants consideration of the guarantees delayed until January, portrayed himself at a news conference on Thursday as "one lonely little guy" contending against "powerful political forces" who want Congress to act without delay.
>
> Those forces are indeed powerful. Last winter, they pushed a reluctant Administration into supporting an outright $650 million grant to Israel when Israel said the Persian Gulf war had cost it that much. . . .
>
> The strength and depth of the forces backing Israel go far beyond the influence of any particular lawmaker making the case for guarantees.
>
> The campaign money is one factor. About 60 political action committees are committed to helping lawmakers who support Israel. The $4 million they gave to House and Senate candidates during the 1989–1990 campaign period made them the "biggest ideological group" among such committees, said Larry Makinson, research director of the Center for Responsive Politics.
>
> The $4 million was about as much as real estate or oil and gas interests gave. In contrast, abortion rights and [pro-life] groups gave only $750,000. Moreover, many pro-Israel political action committees often aid the same candidate, [Larry Makinson] said. Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, Democrat of Ohio, got $245,000 from them in 1987 and 1988, he said.
>
> But people matter at least as much. The 1,000 or so visitors who descended on the Capitol on Thursday were a dramatic example. . . .
>
> The one-day visit was one showy project of the Task Force on Loan Guarantees, which was set up several months ago by about 25 especially active members of the Council of Presidents [of Major American Jewish Organizations], Mr. Hoenlien [the Council's executive director] said. But the task force sponsors a wide variety of activities to broaden support for the guarantees, he said, and this issue has created "a unique level of consensus and cooperation among Jewish groups." . . .
>
> The center of that national voice is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, known as Aipac, one of the most determined, single-minded, and effective lobbying groups in the capital. . . .
>
> He [director Thomas A. Dine] and the other registered lobbyists at Aipac can get Congressional attention in a hurry. They talk with Congressional leaders and help devise strategies and round up support. Few lobbies do it as well. Few are also as reluctant to be quoted in the press, which may provide a mystique of power.*

The shoot-out between President Bush and the Israeli lobby was termed by Abba Eban the most serious Israeli–American confrontation in forty years. Bush stood his ground; AIPAC walked up to the brink, and then stepped back. It was a politically important engagement, whatever one's sympathies on the point at issue.

It does not follow that all critically situated American Jews submit to AIPAC's conscriptive drag on the issue, though citing, for instance, Leslie Gelb doesn't altogether substantiate the point. Mr. Gelb writes the Foreign Affairs column for the *New York Times* op-ed page. In the same issue in which the lobbying powers of AIPAC were discussed, Gelb writes:

> . . . the President took his case directly to the American people on Thursday and headed toward a showdown for far-reaching reasons: to break the back of the Israeli lobby in Congress and put himself in the negotiating catbird seat. From that perch he will demand that Israel first freeze further settlement activity in the occupied territories and then relinquish these territories to the Palestinians in exchange for peace.
>
> I, too, oppose further Jewish settlement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. I also believe that land for peace is the right goal for the U.S. and for Israel—but at the end of the bargaining process and only after an extended series of limited agreements empowering Palestinians and giving them a chance to demonstrate their intent to live in peace with Israel.

Mr. Gelb then goes on to say that for this reason he too opposes Mr. Bush's call to freeze the loan guarantees.

*The headline the following day in the *New York Times*, page 1: "Israeli Loan Dispute Turns Ugly; / Rightist Calls Bush 'Anti-Semite.'"

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We have seen above the pride AIPAC takes in unseating congressmen and senators who defy its resolutions. In 1988 John Chafee, senator from Rhode Island, found that AIPAC was backing his opponent lustily. Why? Because Senator Chafee had voted in favor of selling AWACS airplanes to Saudi Arabia. Undifferentiated political persecutions of this kind—reflexes of policy decisions of a foreign government—are rightly tolerated under our laws, and rightly resented. And since the targeted agents of Israel's government are American voters, their submission to foreign muscle, so exercised, is regrettable. The purpose of "registering" American citizens and American organizations as agents of a foreign government is to alert voters to the possibility that interests other than America's are being served by such people and organizations. But nobody doubts the successes of AIPAC, even when its intrusiveness is brought to light. (I learned about Senator Chafee from watching *60 Minutes*. And of course he was re-elected, but by narrower margins than would have been the case without AIPAC's activity.) The political-action committees are effective—they would not, after all, survive if they were ineffective—and manifestly their success is here and there resented, especially if, in opposing them, one runs the risk of being charged with anti-Semitism. The suggestion that the President of the United States should think himself "one lonely little guy" even when 74 per cent of the American people think he is doing a good job suggests an imbalance in (our old friend) the Correlation of Forces. It is probably an historic political event that he won that showdown against the Israeli lobby handily.

To the Barricades

IN A CONVERSATION before Labor Day, 1991, Edward Koch made a dramatic point. "Last week at Crown Heights, the first killing of a Jew because he was a Jew took place since 1946 in Poland." Indeed, the killing of the young Hasidic Jew by a young black (the product of 48 hours of frenzy brought on by the accidental killing of a black child by a Jewish motorist) was just that, a ritual execution—any old Jew would do.

It is wrong to suppose that that bleak episode was other than an apostrophe in the long narrative that began with slavery, traveled through Reconstruction and Jim Crow, on to the civil-rights era, headed, we all hope, to truly civilized interracial relations. But even though it was an anomalous act, this first Jew-*qua*-Jew killing in 45 years, the clouds darken as anti-Semitic excesses go unreproached. Leonard Jeffries, a black professor at CCNY, inveighs against white people in general and Jews in particular. Efforts to get from any member of the congressional Black Caucus a rebuke of Professor Jeffries's animadversions are unavailing, four weeks after they were first published. Congressmen being above all political animals, one has to suppose that they believe any rebuke of Professor Jeffries would bring punishment by the voters. Voters whom AIPAC, or the Anti-Defamation League, cannot reach.

But here a distinction is appropriate, one that understands the difference between anti-Semitism by white Christians and anti-Semitism by blacks. Once again, Irving Kristol:

> It is my strong impression that, while relations between Christians and Jews as individuals are far better today than ever before, tensions between the two religious communities are being exacerbated. [But] it is not a matter of a "resurgent anti-Semitism," as some major Jewish organizations claim. Only within the black community is there evidence of any such resurgence, and since this phenomenon is as inexplicable as it is irrational, given the extraordinary Jewish commitment to the struggle for equality of civil rights, no one really has any idea of what to do about it. In any case, there is nothing even superficially Christian about black anti-Semitism, which is a peculiar, home-brewed racism that has little appeal to white Christians.

But wherever it comes from, the same protections are needed, foremost among them a consistent pres-

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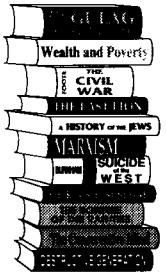

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sure for sensitive behavior. When Joe Sobran went cuckoo (the term we used in-house, never "anti-Semitic") on the subject, he was not again asked to write, in NATIONAL REVIEW, on the subject of the Mideast; a man of intellectual grace, he didn't apply to write for us on the Mideast, nor complain about those editorials on the Mideast that gave voice to views with which he took issue in his columns, the single exception being when he invoked his right of access, as a senior editor, to "The Open Question."

It would not have been inappropriate for newspaper editors who publish Pat Buchanan to decline to publish those of his columns that touched on Jewish or Israeli questions, pending evidence that he would more carefully observe the civilized distinctions. *The Nation*, by sponsoring the Vidal piece, moved more deeply in toward the fever swamps of political thought. But the principal malefactor of the season was unquestionably President James Freedman of Dartmouth College, whose exultant efforts to transform the mischief of one unidentified student into a racist plague was irresponsible at the outset and, in the light of reflection, progressively inexcusable.

History brings on the need for fresh dispensations. It ought not to be considered racist to remark differences in IQ scoring by blacks. And, *pace* Norman Podhoretz, it ought not to be considered racist to speak of group characteristics. We are familiar with the paradox that group characteristics are tolerable when beneficent ("Jews are brighter than non-Jews"), racist when censorious ("Jews are a greedy lot"). Michael Kinsley put it nicely in *The New Republic* (October 14, 1991): "Ethnic traits are a sensitive subject, and rightly so. I don't even object to the unwritten rule that you—especially if you are an outsider—can ascribe good traits to an ethnic group (music, humor, intelligence) but not bad ones. Logically, though, the possibility of the one category existing suggests the possibility of the other." The trouble with all compound characterizations is that they leak terribly, and tend to get leakier all the time—a second's reflection is all that is needed to bring to mind a dumb Jew or a Jew utterly indifferent to material possessions. But it is incorrect and damaging to resist group characterizations—*unless there is evidence that such characterizations are motivated by a desire to disparage*.

And finally, those who believe that the main reason for resisting race prejudice is the commitment to respect one's neighbor (to love him is perhaps too exacting a mandate to guide fallen men) should, in regard to containing anti-Semitism, warn against the undesirable effects of ideological hostility to the public practice of religion, born of a fanatical application of the religious-freedom clause in the First Amendment (as described above by Irving Kristol), and enlivened also by that fear of "outsiderness" mentioned by Michael Kinsley. Religion has been abused in the past as a vehicle to justify discrimination, but it is the light of the gospel of a common brotherhood that mostly illuminates our brighter moments on earth. The single most powerful engine, striving always to haul us up to a vision of equality, was dispatched by Him who made us, children of God, with a common ancestry. "Let not mercy and truth forsake thee: bind them about thy neck; write them upon the table of thine heart. Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding." □

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NYC FEMALE ENTREPRENEUR, slim, earthy, with intellect/style, seeking underloved male achiever, 50+, toned, educated, with a void in his life. Imperfect, OK. NR Box 2092.

RUSSIA, SCANDINAVIA, Great Britain, Poland, etc. Worldwide correspondence between professional men, women seeking friendship, marriage. Scanna Int'l (Since 1980), P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! InterPacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

Miscellaneous

ACROSTICIANS CLUB. Free "Acrostics Network," details, puzzles. Mock, 1030-A Delaware, Berkeley, Calif. 94710.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 B	2 J	3 O		4 A	5 H	6 G	7 P	8 C	9 F		10 L		11 C	12 M	13 E	14 D	15 H	16 J	17 I	
18 S	19 N	20 B	21 A	22 R	23 G		24 E	25 H	26 L		27 K	28 P	29 C		30 I	31 J		32 F	33 D	34 M
35 G		36 B	37 L		38 N	39 C	40 F	41 P	42 I	43 J		44 O	45 G		46 D	47 E	48 M		49 A	50 L
51 J		52 E	53 F	54 S	55 H	56 B		57 P	58 C	59 O	60 D	61 L	62 G	63 J		64 K	65 Q	66 B	67 N	68 M
69 C	70 A	71 I	72 P		73 E	74 D	75 J		76 H	77 L	78 R	79 O	80 E		81 F	82 C		83 N	84 I	85 H
86 O	87 B	88 L		89 F	90 A	91 H		92 B	93 D	94 S	95 A	96 N	97 K	98 H	99 F	100P	101C	102L		103R
104E	105M	106B	107O	108I	109F		110G	111Q	112C		113S	114F	115R	116J	117D	118M	119I	120C		121O
122B		123G		124L	125I	126N	127A	128B	129G		130J	131P	132E	133H		134P	135D	136J	137C	138A
139G		140J	141S		142H	143G	144F		145L	146K	147P	148M	149E	150F	151C		152R	153B		154P
155I		156O	157N	158S	159J	160A	161Q	162I	163B	164G		165A	166K	167D	168H					

DEFINITIONS

A. Nature's (or the Federal Government's) gifts — 138 90 160 21 165 49 4 70 127 95

B. Philip Stanhope's earldom — 20 1 163 122 36 128 66 153 106 56 / 87 92

C. Saint Nick, in Def. H (2 words) — 11 120 69 112 82 137 8 58 29 151 / 101 39

D. Creationism's foe — 60 117 74 167 135 46 93 33 14

E. Certain bedwear — 73 149 80 47 24 104 132 52 13

F. Paleolithic guy — 99 114 89 150 9 144 40 109 53 81 / 32

G. British PM, 1970–74 (full name) — 35 129 6 62 45 164 143 23 123 139 / 110

H. Germany, to a native — 5 15 85 142 55 76 25 168 98 133 / 91

I. Youthful Ohio city — 17 84 125 162 71 108 42 119 30 155

J. South Pacific island (2 words) — 51 43 75 136 116 63 31 16 140 159 / 130 2

K. Signs — 146 27 166 97 64

L. Verse form often used by Chaucer (2 words) — 124 145 88 10 26 61 37 102 50 77

M. Hard to pin down — 48 68 105 148 118 34 12

N. D.C. interest groups — 83 96 157 38 67 19 126

O. Relinquishes — 156 59 121 79 86 44 107 3

P. Blank slate, epistemologically (2 words) — 100 154 134 147 57 41 131 7 72 28

Q. Japanese prince (1841–1909) — 111 65 161

R. Old capital of the Nebraska Territory — 152 22 103 115 78

S. Spiro's natterers — 141 158 113 54 18 94

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 63 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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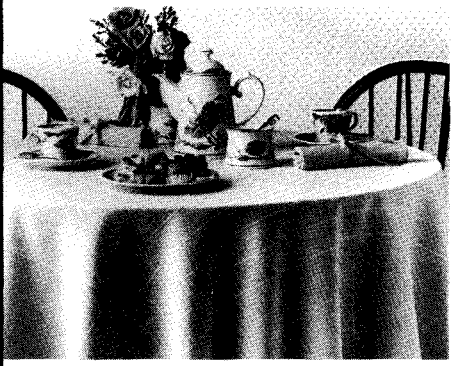

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